

154.65  
AN  
ABRIDGEMENT,

*Or rather,*  
A Bridge of Roman Histories,  
to passe the neerest way  
from **TITVS LIVIVS** to  
**CORNELIVS TACITVS.**

*Under which*

(IN THREE BOOKEs)

AS IT WERE THROUUGH THREE  
ARCHEs, for the space of Sixe score yeeres,  
the Fame and Fortune of the Romans  
ebbs and flowes.

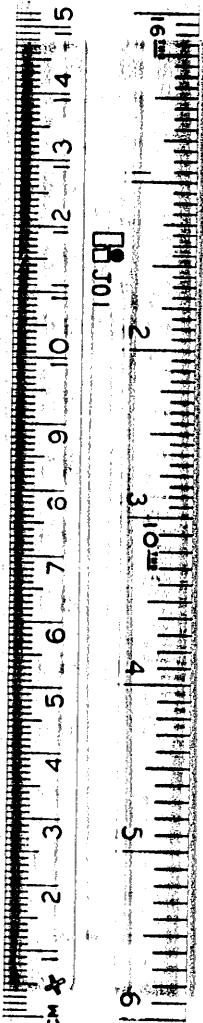
By  
William Fulbecke.



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## The Praeface to the Reader.



Ourteene yeares are now runne out  
sithence I fully ended and dispatched  
this historiall labour: for departing  
from the Vniersitie of Oxford in the  
yeare 1584, and addressing my selfe  
to the studie of the Law, I thought it more conuenient  
and reasonable at once to finish and perfect this  
worke, which I had already begin, then breaking my  
course with delaies to be still striking on the anuill,  
knowing that things begun, are more easily conclud-  
ed then things interrupted can be conioyned;  
wherefore in that very yeare and some few daies fol-  
lowing, I did begin, continue and consummate the  
three bookees of this historie, since which time it hath  
lyen in the couert of my studie, of my selfe seldom  
looked on, of others some times read, who by vrgent  
perswasion would haue mooued me to offer it to the  
publike view of my countreymen, to which I would  
in no wise condiscend, alleaging for reason that it  
would be thought a blemish of impudencie in me to  
assay the discription of such things, which by *Appian*,  
*Plutarch*, *Paterculus*, & others haue bene excellently  
delivered; which I tooke to be a sufficient fortresse  
and support of my excuse and refusall, but againe I  
heard that all the Romane writers which haue re-  
ported the accidents of this historie, are either in

A

## THE PREFACE

their narrations too long and prolix, or else too harsh and vnpleasant, or else so exceeding briefe that the coherence and mutuall dependance of things could hardly be discerned or coniectured in the narrow compasse of so strict desciphering. This I heard with patience, and answered with silence, for I durst not oppose my blunt arguments to their daintie appetite: the truth standing so in the middle way betwixt vs both, that I could not with safe conscience in all these allegations dissent from them, nor with sound opinion in all consent vnto them, wherefore weighing more precisely in minde, and ballancing with vnaffectioned thoughts the state of the difference betwixt vs, and beholding the naked pourtrature of the thing it selfe without shadow of circumstances, I perceiued that the great prolixite and the too exceeding breuitie of the Romane historiographers could not well be couered with the veile of any reasonable excuse: and further the obiection of others could not well be confuted, who do condemne in their writings great disagrement and contrariety of narration, wherefore remembryng my first intent in the collecting of these historiall reports, which was to singe and sequester the vndeniable truth of the historie from the drosse and falsehood which was in many places intermixed and enfolded in it: and to do this in such sort, that my speciall care in auoyding the extremities of length and breuity, two lothsome faults, from which notwithstanding few writers be free, might fully and manifestly appeare: and considering likewise that histories are now in speciaall request

## TO THE READER.

request and accompt, whereat I greatly reioyce, acknowledging them to be the teachers of vertuous life, good conuersation, discrete behaviour, politike gouernement, conuenient enterprises, adised proceedings, warie defences, grounded exerience, and refined wisedome. And being again solicited by perswasible meane, to commit the censure of this my historiall collection to the curtesie of others, I haue atlast yeelded to this motion, reposing my selfe rather vpon kinde construction, then rigorous desert. The vse of this historie is threefold, first the reuealing of the mischieves of discord and ciuill discention, in which the innocent are proscribed for their wealth, noble men dishonored, cities become waste by banishtment and bloodshed: nay (which is more) virgins are deflowered, infants are taken out of their parents armes, and put to the sword, matrons do suffer villanie, temples and houses are spoyled, and euery place is full of armed men, of carcasses, of bloud, of teares. Secondly the opening of the cause hereof, which is nothing else but ambition, for out of this seed groweth a whole haruest of evils. Thirdly the declaring of the remedie, which is by humble estimation of our selues, by liuing well, not by lurking well: by conuersing in the light of the common weale with equals, not by complotting in darke conuenticles against superiors: by contenting our selues with our lot, and not contending to our losse: by hoping without aspiring, and by suffering without conspiring. Let Rome in this history be a witnesse, that a slippery ascending was alwaies ac-

## TO THE READER.

companied, with a headlong dissent, and that peace is a great deale better then triumph, which will be an occasion I trust to my countreymen of England to be thankfull to God for this sweete quiet and serenite of this flourishing estate, in which England now standeth; wherein the day striueth with the night whether shall be calmer: and let it mooue thee whosoeuer thou art, courteous Reader, to pray with the earnest endeuer of thy hart, that the Iris which is the pledge of our peace may still shine amongst vs, that the happie Virgin which is the starre of safety in the Zodiacke of this common weale may continue immoueable, that our *Haleyon* may still sit in this *Albion*, on this white rocke to make the seas calme, and the waues silent, and to preserue the league of heauen and earth, I meane true Religion amongst vs. From my Chamber in Graies Inne 13. Octob. Anno Dom. 1600.

*Thine in all sincere affection,*

WILLIAM FULBECKE.

## A Table of the Romaine forenames written with one letter.

*A. Aulus.*

*C. Caius.*

*D. Decimus:* for *Decius* it cannot be, because that was the name of a familie, and in the monuments of the Greeke writers, it is written *Δέκυος*, and not *Δέκιος*.

*L. Lucius.*

*M. M. Marcus Manius.*

*N. Numerius.*

*P. Publius.*

*Q. Quintus.*

*T. Titus.*

Written with two letters.

*Ap. Appius.*

*Cn. Cneus.*

*Op. Opiter.*

*Sp. Spurius.*

*Ti. Tiberius.*

Written with three letters.

*Mam. Mamercus.*

*Sex. Sextus.*

*Ser. Seruus.*

*Tul. Tullus.*

*The names of the bookes and Authors  
out of which this historic was derived.*

*Appianus.*  
*Augustinus.*  
*Cassiodorus.*  
*Cesar.*  
*Cicero.*  
*Dio Nicæus & Dio Cassius.*  
*Entropius.*  
*Florus.*  
*Gellius.*  
*Gentilis Albericus.*  
*Hireius.*  
*Iornandes.*  
*Iosephus.*  
*Liber de viris illustribus.*  
*Liber antiquitatum Romanarum.*  
*Libri gentium & familiarum Romanarum.*  
*Liuius.*  
*Lucanus.*  
*Manutius Paulus.*  
*Obsequens.*  
*Orofius.*  
*Plinius.*  
*Pedianus.*  
*Plutarchus.*  
*Salustius.*  
*Seneca.*  
*Sigonius.*  
*Strabo.*  
*Velleius*  
*Valerius Maximus.*  
*Zonaras.*



# CLOTHO,

*Or the first booke.*

Hen vainglorious Tarquine Tarquin banished.

**W**the last of the Romaine kings for the shamefull rape of Lucrece committed by one of his sonnes, was banished from Rome & Consuls succeeded, which as the name declares, had charge of prouiding for the common safetie & securitie, the Romanes changed gold for brasse, and loathing one king suffered manie tyrants, scourging their follie with their fall, and curing a fested sore with a poisoned plaister; for what could be more vniust, or more contrarie to the free estate of a citie, then to subiect the whole common weale to the rule of manie potentates, and to exclude the people from all right and interest in publique af-faires? VVhat could be more absurd then the

Senators onely to bestow the Consulship, the soueraigntie in warres, the supremacie in superstitious offices, according to their fancie and affection, to call Senates at their pleasure, to conuocate assemblies when it seemed best for their owne profite, and to haue power of life and death vpon the bodies of their fellow citizens, & the people to liue like their slaues, being barred and restrained from marrying with the daughter of anie Senatour, as if that pray had bene too high for so low a wing, and being held in such disdaine and disreputation that common fellowship and mutuall societie was denied them, which was indeede not to liue like free men in a citie, but like villaines and bondmen in a wainscot prison, and like sillie birds in a golden cage: but when after long experience they had found, that winter succeeded sommer, & that the withered welfare of their citie could not be reuiued without some fortunate spring: to the intent that moderation might be induced, and that the meaner sort might beare some stroke with the mightier, that the people might enjoy the sweete of the citie as well as the fathers, they procured

procured a new office entituled the Tribune-ship, whereby they might protec<sup>t</sup> themselves as with a shield against the arrogant endeuors and outragious decrees of the Senatours, and the fellowship of mariage was brought in with the Senate, which before was prohibited the people, as if they had bene staine<sup>d</sup> with some cōtagious iandise, or infected with some dangerous leprosie, and their suffrage was the made necessarie to the election of officers, which before was as rare in that cōmon-weale as a white skin in Aethiopia. The people ha<sup>ving</sup> thus erected their power, did by degrees more and more enhaunce it, till by many alterations it was turned from an Aristocracie, from the rule of them that were manie and mightie, to a plaine and visible Democracie or estate popular, administered by the voyces of the multitude and magistrates, and by the vnted consent of the whole corporatiō. Now when the people had by continuall incrochments assument and seased into their handes the giuing and bestowing of the greater offices, as the Consulship, that strong tower of the Senatours authoritie, and besides that the

Dictatorship, the Censorship, the warlike Empire, the priestly dignitie, and many other most excellent honors, which before did solely belong to the Peeres of Rome, and now there wanted nothing to make their power e-  
quall, but onely that Plebiscites, that is, de-  
crees made by the people, shold binde the  
greater powers, as well as the people them-  
selues, frō which at that time the whole com-  
panie of the Nobles were exempted. There-  
fore to make them generall, and of like force  
against all, they wrested from the fathers after  
much businesse, the law Hortensia, by which  
it was enacted that in euery important matter  
the people shold be equally interested with  
the Senate, and that the lawes so made and  
ratified by them, shold stretch as well to the  
Senators, as to the people themselues. After  
that the common-weale was brought to this  
good and temperate constitution, many pro-  
fitable lawes were established, many victories  
followed, many cities bowed vnto them, manie  
monarchies sued for their fauour, manie  
tyrants feared their puissance, & manie coun-  
tryes dreaded their invasion. Then there flou-  
rished

rished in Rome most admirable examples of  
abstinencie, modestie, iustice, fortitude, and  
which was the seale of their securitie, an vni-  
uersall vnitie and agreement. Then the same  
of their Curi, their Coruncani, their Fabriti,  
their Metelli, their Fabij, their Marcelli, their  
Scipioes, their Pauli, their Lepidi, did ring in  
the world, whose great magnanimitie & wise-  
dome in the tumult of warres, together with  
their singular temperance, and loyaltie in the  
calme of peace, is to be wondred at of all, and  
of all to be reuerenced. But when either the  
Senate or people did passe the lists and limits  
of æquall régiment, the ancient and vertuous  
orders of the citie were immediatly troden  
vnder foote, and their good and laudable cu-  
stomes were encountred and put to flight by  
dissolute and vnbridded enormities: then the  
Asiaticall triumphs did incorporate into the  
citie a womanish wantonnesse, then proude  
ambition mounted her plume of disdaine vp-  
pon the top of the Capitolle, then their exces-  
sive pride and iouissance for their victories  
had against Pyrrhus, for their cōquest of Car-  
thage, for the ouerthrow of Philip, Perseus,

Rome built.

Antiochus, mightie kings, for the winning of Spaine, Sicilie, Sardinia, Illyria, Macedonia and Greece, being as yet fresh in their memories, were as bellowes to puffe vp their swelling humours. Then there succeeded a dismall discord, which beginning when the estate was at the highest, did not end or expire, till it fell to the lowest ebbe, sticking fast in the sands of a grieuous desolation. If a man will retrospe-  
ctuely measure the space of former times, & the whole compasse of yeares, wherein the fortunes of the Romanes were by God his hand turned about, he shall finde that all the weight of their affaires, before the incohation of the Empire of Augustus, may be dispersed into sixe ages; wheroft the first containing the number of fiftie yeares, was spent in the making of a towne; for that gorgeous seate which nowe we call Rome, was then but a plot of ground, to which houses were wanting, but afterward a great multitude of Latine & Tuscane shepheards, together with Phrygians & Arcadians, flowing to that place, as to a temple reuerenced by pilgrims and trauellers, the common-weale was compacted of these seuerall

uerall people, as a bodie of diuerse elements. Romulus the founder of their citie & empire, did delight wholly in mountaines, riuers, woods, marshes and wastes, playing perhaps the espiall, to discouer and find out in what place it were best to erect a citie, and how to conuey things necessarie vnto it, and how to adorne it with continual increment and addition of demeisnes; to such imaginations the fields and places desolate were most accordant, and to his sauage societie this practise of life was most acceptable.

The second age which chalengeth other fiftie yeares, did ingender in them working spirits and loftie cogitations, which eneaged and inflamed their mindes, against the confiners & borderers: then it first began to beare the countenance and shape of a kingdome, which was after enlarged to the shore of the Midland and Adriaticke seas, which they rather vsed as bridges to other nations, then as bounders to their owne.

The third age whose steps were an hundred and fiftie yeares, was the crowne and consummation of their kingdome, in which whatsoe-

## CLOTHO, OR

Romulus ea-  
grest in fight.

Numa reli-  
gious.

Tullus an ar-  
tificiall Cap-  
taine.

Aucus a  
great builder

Tarquinius  
his ornamēts

Seruius tax-  
eth the Ro-  
manes by  
polles.

uer was done was done by the for the pompe, glorie and magnificence of that estate: as yet the Romane pride was in her blade, and in the tenderness of her minoritie, this threefold age was spent vnder seuen kings, differing by fatall prouidence in the disposition of their nature, as the frame and condition of that common-weale did especially require: for who was euer more fierce and ardent then

Romulus? Such a one they needed to inuade the kingdomes of others. VVho more reli-

gious then Numa? Such the time did aske, that the furie of the people might be mitiga-

ted by the feare of God: VVherefore was Tullus that artificiall champion giuen vnto

them? That he might sharpen their valour by his wit. VVherefore Aucus the great builder?

That he might extend their citie with colo-

nies, ioyne it together with bridges, eniron it with walles. The ornaments, ensignes and

braueries of Tarquinius, did with rayes of dignitie illustrate and decore that estate. Ser-

uius taxing them by polles, brought to passe

that the Romane commō-weale might know

her riches. And the importune domination of

proud

## THE FIRST BOOKE

9  
proud Tar-  
quine did verie much profite, for  
the people afflicted by iniurie, did force a  
passage to their libertie.

The fourth age was as it were the youth of the Romane monarchie, when the flower of their prouesse being greene, and the bloud of their mindes blossoming in their faces and armes, the shepheardly fauagenesse did as yet breathē foorth the reliques of an vndaunted stomacke. Then flourished these Romane ha-  
zards, and miracles Cocles, Sceuola, Cloætia, which chronicles do therefore witnesse, that posteritie may wonder. Then were the Tus-  
canes repulsed and the Latines and Volsciās daily, and deadly enemies, vanquished by the triumphant husbandman L. Quintius Cin-  
cinnatus, which war he ended within fifteene dayes, as if he had made hast to returne to his tillage. Then were ouercome the Vientines, the Faliscians, and the Fidenates: then the Galles a couragious nation, vsing their bodie for armour, in all respects so terrible, that they might seeme to be borne for the death of men, and destruction of cities, were vt-  
terly vanquished: then were ouercome the

The spedie  
war of Cin-  
cinnatus.

C

The pralfe  
of Campania.

Sabines and Samnites wasting and dispoiling the fields of Campania, being the goodliest plot, the Diamond-sparke and the hony-spot of all Italie: there is no land more temperate for aire, for it hath a double spring-tide: no soile more fertile, and therfore it is called the combat of Bacchus & Ceres, no region more hospitable in regard of the sea, here be the noble hauens Caieta, Misenus, & the healthfull bathes Lucrine and Auerne, the resting places of the sea. Here the mountaines clad with vines Gaurus, Falernus, Massitus, and the firie hill Vesurius: here the famous citie Capua third sister to Rome and Carthage doth imperiously stand. They begirt Samniū with warre and bloud on all sides, till they had ruined her verie ruines, and reuilled in her bowels, and twelue feuerall nations of Tuscana waging hote and furious battell against them, in such sort and terrible maner, as if darts had bene throwne at the Romans from the coulds, were likewise suppressed. In this age happened the Tarentine warre, in which the armie of Pyrrhus continually slaying was continually slaine, and reuenge did liue in the death

Pyrrhus figh  
ting against  
the Romans.

death of the Romanes: so that Pyrrhus did thinke him selfe to be borne vnder Hercules his starre, who hauing cut off the seuen heads of Hydra, seuen other did spring vp. But from this Captaine the Romanes plucked such spoiles, that neuer fairer were caried in triumph. For before this day nothing passed in triumph, but the heards of the Volscian cattell, and the flocks of the Sabine sheepe, the broken wagons of the Gaules, & the crushed harness of the Samnites: but in this triumph, if you respect the prisoners, they were Molossians, Thessalians, Macedonians, Brutians, Apulians, Lucans: if you regard the pompe, it was gold, purple, curious pictures, tablets, and the delights of Tarentum. Next to this was the victorie of the Pisani and Salentini: this age shewed her force the space of two hundred and fistie yeares.

Then followed the fift age, in which the bodie of the common weale grew to great strength, the ioints and sinewes being by mature soliditie settled in firme estate. Therfore the conquering nation hauing now attained to the verie manhood of manlinesse, and dis-

played her standerd round about the sides of Italie, to the skirts of the sea, pawed a litle, as a great scalefire, which consuming all the woods and groues in the way that it goeth, is abrupted and put out of course by a floud coming betweene. But soone after seeing a rich pray on the other side of the sea, supposing it to be a peece of gold pulled from her masse; they did so vehemently desire the same, that because it could not be ioyned vnto their dominion by bridges for the interruption of the sea, therefore they resolued to ioyne it by sword and battell: and so was Sicilia subdued by the Romanes, which was the cause and originall of the first Carthaginian warre, which the warres of the Ligurians, Insubrians and Illyrians did follow: and after the second Carthaginian warre, so dangerous and bloudie to the Romanes, that if a man compare the losse of both nations, they which did conquer, were more like to persons conquered. For it grieved that noble brood, and valiant people of Carthage to be abridged of the sea, depriued of the llands, to pay tribute, and to vndergo not onely the bridle, but the yoke: to this age

must

The begin-  
ning of the  
second Car-  
thaginian warre.

must be ascribed the circuit of one hundred yeares, which may be termed the golden age of the Romanes, & the first age in which they shewing their streamers on each side of the Ocean, did transport their warres into all nations of the world, in whose yeares the Romanes were honest, religious, iust, sincere, vertuous, and dutifull.

The sixth age containing 120. yeares was troublesome and vgly, bloudie & detestable, vices growing with their Empire. For with the wars valiantly fought against Iugurtha, & Mithridates, against the Carthaginians, Cimbrians, Parthians, Galles & Germans, by which the Romane glorie ascended and pierced the skie, the ciuill slaughterers of the Gracchi, and of Drusus, of Marius, Sylla and others were mingled and enterlarded: how mournefull a spectacle was it, that they fought the same time with fellowes in league, with fellowes in the citie, with bondmen, with fencers, all the Senate afterward contending and being in hurliburly with it selfe? These times receiued of the other ages an exquisite commō weale; as it were a curious picture, which after mil-

dring and decaying by age, they did not only neglect to renew, with the same colours, but they also forgot to preserue the outward forme and lineaments thereof, for what remained of the auncient maners, which were both vnused and vnkowne: for by their recent vices they lost the common-weale in fact, and in name retained it. How lamentable was the face of things at that instant? when euerie man confusedly being found in the field, in the streetes, in townes, in houses, in highwaies, in markets, in temples, in beds, sitting at the table or in the porch, was suddenly and sauagely murdered? what howlings were there of them that died? what teares of them that liued, and beheld this? The cause of these miseries was too great prosperitie. What made the people so earnest to extort the lawes of fields and corne, but verie famine procured by riot on the one part, and couetousesse on the other? for such was the lauish mis-spending, & excessiue vianding of some, that it can hardly be defined, whether more did perish by the blade or by the banquet, and such againe was the couetousesse, & greedie exacting

exacting of others, that none can iudicably decide, whether the Romanes were more en-damaged by the enemie in time of warre, or by the vsluer in peaceable seasons. Hence grew the two ciuil broiles of the Gracchi, and that of Saturninus being the third, and that of Drusus being the fourth, who maintained the Senate against the Knights; and for the further abetting and auow of this quarell, he promised the freedome of the Citie to diuerte Italiens animated to this attempt, so that in one Citie there was as much discord as in two seuerall campes. This bred the Italian warre, because promise was not perfourmed. And next ensued the warre of Mithridates, seeing the Romans on each side intangled with garboiles, which presently bred the enmitie be-twixt Marius and Sylla, when Marius would haue deuested Sylla of his Generalship giuen him by the Senat for the oppugnation of Mithridates. These two gaue Mithridates encoragement, by leauing the ribbes of the comweale naked and open vnto him, Marius led an armie, ambition led Marius: ambition I say engendred by riches, did raise contention

The Italian  
warre.

Mithridates  
an enemy to  
the Romans.

The conten-  
tion betwixt  
Marius and  
Sylla.

betwixt them: from this the warre of Sertorius and Pompey had his originall, whereof the one was proscribed by Sylla, the other protected. For Pompey was accompted Syl- laes minion or fauorite, whom he therefore called Magnus, that him selfe might seeme greater, being the Saint v hom Pompey serued. Sylla was cruell in reuenging cruentie, and his medicine was worse then the maladie it selfe. This stirred the dissencion of Lepidus and Catulus, whereof the one would haue ratified, the other reuersed, all the acts of Sylla.

The dissencion of Lepidus and Catulus.

Catilines rebellion.

Pompeys great dignitie in Rome.

Cæsar cano brooke it.

Then Catiline whom his lust occasioned by Syl- laes indulgence brought to beggerie, op- posed him selfe to the Consuls. Then Pompey entred the lists, as a follower of Sylla, who ob- tained excellent dignitie in these times, but ciuill, and such as the regular course of that common- weale did affoord, whose power & authoritie Cæsar could not tollerate, because he could not match it: which notwithstanding he being ouercome and slaine, Cæsar passed and transcended. But when this usurper had bleached the floore of the Senate house with his owne bloud, who before had overflowed and

and deluged the whole world, with the crimson goare of most admirable men, the com- mon-weale did seeme to haue rolled her selfe into the state of her pristinate libertie, and it had returned vnto the same, if either Pompey had not left sonnes, or Cæsar had not made an heire, or, which was worse, if Antonius the thunder-dart of furie had not suruiued, being once colleague with Cæsar in the Consulship, now successor of his usurpation. But while Pompeys sonne striueth for the honor of the name, the sea ratleth with armour: whilst Octavius reuegeth the death of his adoptiue father, Thessalie is againe made the basis of tents and paullions, and all Europe and Af- fricke groaneth vnder the weight of iron, whil- est Antonius in the habit of his mind diuerte and discoloured, doth either disdaine Octavius or doate vpon Cleopatra, whose beautie if he could haue exceeded by his chastitie, his shame should not haue blazed like a beacon at this day in the eyes of posteritie, but he had won the garlad of cōquest, not meriting more then triumph. The armie of Octavius hauing slaine Pompeis sonne, did in him slay enmity,

and Cassius being ouercome by fight, Brutus by despaire, they did extirpate faction. Yet Antonius not challenging part with anie, but principalitie ouer all, imagining that he wanted no kingly thing saue onely a kingdome, remained as a rocke or gulfe in the mouth of the hauē, whom he with some labor subdued. And, as in the yearly conuersion of the heauens, it commeth to passe, that the starres iogged together do murmure and threaten tempest, so with the alteration of the Romane state, before Octauius founded his Monarchie, the whole globe of the earth with ciuill and forraine warre, with fight on sea and land was terribly shaken. But the accidents and occurrences of these last hundred and twentie yeares, in the sequele of this historie shall be, if God sauour these lines, more particularly & distinctly reported. The first that made the

The valor of  
the former  
Scipio.

The prowesse  
of the later  
Scipio.

Romanes mightie was the former Scipio that scourged Affrica with continuall warres and vexations, and in the end subdued it: the first that made them wanton and effeminate, was the later Scipio, by whom Carthage was subuerted, yet not by his fault, but by the casualty

of

of the time. For when the riuall and eniuous ielousie of the Carthaginian glory, was by his matchlesse victorie finally determined, the Romanes did sodainly degenerate, and with an hungrie gorge fed on the poisonfull baites of bitter sweete ambition, following wantons like wilde horses, and addicted to pleasure as their onely paragon, the auncient gouernement of the Citie was vtterly forsaken, the watchings of the campe were ended vpon beds of downe, their heauie armour was turned to light and fashionable attire, and the wonted busynesse of the Citie was chaunged into idlenesse. Then did Scipio Nasica build porches in the Capitolle, then did Metellus threaten the heauēs with haughtie buildings, the did Cn. Octauius erect a most sumptuous forefront, & then did the riot of the Cōmons imitate the magnificence of the nobles. In the middest of this delicate iolitie, when the Romanes were now in the ruffe of their pride, a grieuous and despitefull warre was raised in Spaine by Viriathus of Lusitania, a notable theefe & ringleader to a multitude of rogues, which hong a long time in suspence: but in the

The Romans  
made wanton  
by prosperity

Viriathus an  
enemy to the  
Romanes.

D 2

The Numantines  
warre.

Pompey en-  
forced to  
strange lea-  
gues by the  
Numantines.

The punish-  
ment of Mā-  
cinus for  
breaking  
truce.

end when Viriathus was slaine, rather by the couine then courage of Seruilius Cæpio, a greater danger ensued, namely the warre of the Numantines. The citie of Numantia did neuer affoord armour to any more, then ten thousand citizens at one battell; but either through the fiercenesse of their nature, or the default of the Romane capraine, or the indulgence of fortune, they brought Pompey the first of the Pompeys that was Consull, a man of note & fame to most shameful leagues, & Mancinus Hostilius, to a detestable truce, which vpon a remorce of minde, and change of opinion, against the law of Armes, and to the great discredit of the Romanes, he afterward broke: but Pompey escaped vnpunished by fauour, Mancinus was punished by shame. For he was caried and transported by the Romane Heraulds vnto the Numantines, his hands being manacled, and so was deliuuered vp into the enemies power, whom they refused to receiue, saying that a publique breach of promise was not to be punished by the bloud of one man. This yeelding vp of Mancinus into the enemies hands, did cause in the citie

citie a perillous and pernicious dissencion. For Ti. Gracchus the sonne of the right noble man Ti. Gracchus, whose mother was the daughter of Scipio Africanus, by whose meanes and authority that reprochfull league was made, taking it grieuously that any thing which he did should be discountenanced, and fearing himselfe the danger either of the like punishment or of the like iudgement, being at thatelme Tribune of the people, in life innocent, in wit pregnant, and in purpose guiltlesse: and furthermore adorned with so great vertues, as either nature could affoord, or industrie could perfect, or mans frailtie could containe. P. Mutius Scaeuola, and L. Calphurnius being Consuls fell from vertue to vice, and extreme villanies: and hauing promised vpon a dissolute fancie, that he would enfranchise and receiue into the Citie anie Italian whosoeuer, turned all things into a contrarie state, mingled vertues with vice, lawes with lust, and brought the common-weale into an headlong and hideous danger. Octavius his fellow in office, who stood against him for the common good, he put from his place, & created

The parents  
of Ti. Grac-  
chus.

The praise of  
Ti. Gracchus

Gracchus  
swarrelth his  
virtue.

A Treuariate  
first made in  
Rome.

a new state in Rome entitled a Treuirate or Triarchie, that is the rule of three men, who were called Treuiri, him self for one, his father in law Appius who had bin Cōsul for another and C. Gracchus his brother for the third. At

The familie  
of Scipio Na-  
sica.

that time flourished P. Scipio Nasica, nephew to him, who was iudged of the Senate in his life time to be the best of the Romanes, sonne to that Scipio who purchased great praise for his good demeanour in the Censorship, nephew two degrees remoued to Cn. Scipio a man highly commended, vncle to Scipio Æmilianus whose commendation lieth in his name: this Scipio Nasica thogh he were nearly linked in kindred to Tiberius Gracchus, yet preferring his countrey before his kindred, thinking nothing priuately cōmodious which was not publikly conuenient, standing in the higher part of the Capitolle, exhorted all the Romanes, which desired the safetie of the common-weale, to follow him, ypo which words the Nobles, the Senate, and the greater and better part of the Romane knights did runne suddenly ypon Gracchus, standing in the floore of the Capitolle with his adherēts, and

Scipio Nas-  
ica oposeth  
himselfe to  
Gracchus

and euen then conspiring with a frequent assemblie of new-come Italians, he thereupon flying and running downe the hil whereupon the Capitolle was founded, his head being crushed as he was running downe, with a fragment of one of the boordes which was in the Senate house, did sodainly end his life, which he might haue enioyed with great honor and quietnesse.

Ti. Gracchus  
flaunc.

This broile and haplesse dissencion was the first conspiracy in which ciuil bloud was shed, and the first dispensation of drawing swordes within the walles: after that time right was oppressed by violence, and the mightier man was accompted the better, the quarels of citizens that were wont to be cured by compromise and agreement, were now decided by sword and bloudshed, and warres were not followed according to the goodnessse of the cause, but according to the greatnessse of the pray. But it was no maruell, though this small beginning had so great effect, and this odious faction so vnfortunat consequnce, for examples do not pawse there where they begin, but being once receiued into a narrow strait,

they make way to themselues, raunging and spreading themselues ouer the bodie of the world, and when men go once astray, they mind not how farre they go, thinking that nothing can procure dishonestie to them, which hath brought profit to others.

Whilest these things were done in Italie, Scipio Africanus of the house of Æmilius, who destroyed Carthage, after many slaughters of his enemies in the Numantine warre, being nowe againe made Consull, was sent backe into Spaine, where his courage and successe did match and æquall his valure and fortune in Affricke, and within a yare and three moneths after his comming thither, he

Scipio is sent into Spaine.

Scipio takeith Numantia.

tooke Numantia, and caused euerie stone to be throwne to the ground, as a notable monument of a Romane victorie. There was neuer anie man of anie name or nation, that by the sacking of cities did more æternise his house or enlarge his glorie: for hauing rooted vp Carthage, he deliuered the Romanes from feare, and hauing razed Numantia, he deliuered them from reproch. Being returned into the Citie within a short time, after

two

two Consulships, two victories, and two notable triumphs, he was found dead in his bed, Scipio found dead in his bed. his iaw bone being dissolved and dislocated. There was no inquisition made afterward of the death of this invincible Captaine: the bo-  
die of Scipio was brought out into the streete Scipios body is brought out into the streete. his head couered, by whose great labours and warlike exploits, Rome lifted vp her head ouer all the world, to the terroure and dismay of other cities and countreys. His death was, as the most say fatall, as some say conspired: his life doubtlesse was of that singularitie, that it was ouercome of no mans glorie, but onely his grandfathers.

After the death of Ti. Gracchus, the same fury and rage of mind that possest him, entred C. Gracchus a rebell to the state. as it were by a kind of transmutation, into his brother C. Gracchus, a man as like to Tiberius in his vertues as in his errour, who when with great facilitie and ease of mind he might haue bene the Prince of the Citie and the ruler of the Senate, tooke the Tribune ship vpon him to raise tumults, to licence swords, and to reuiue discord, to no other intent or purpose but either to reuenge his brothers death, or

E

purchase to himselfe a soueraigntie, and for the more hasticke pursyng of his drift, he bestowed the freedome of the Citie vpon euery inhabitant of Italy: he interdicted and forbad by Tribunitial law, that no citizen should posseſſe more then fiuſ hundred akeres of land, he creſted new hauers; he filled the prouinces C. Gracchus. with new colonies, he transferred the autho-  
ritie of iudgement frō the Senate to the Nobles; he determined to diſtributē and deuide come amongst the people: to be briefe, he left almost nothing vnaſtered or vndiſturbed. This man was slaine by the sharpe and hasticke purſuite of L. Opimius Consull who was in armeſ against him; and Fullius Placcus was likewiſe slaine, one that had enjoyed both the Consulſhip and the honor of Triumphi, a man of a detestable avaracie; whom C. Gracchus had denominated and deigned to be one of the Treuiri in the place of Tiberius his brother, being his associate in all his enterprises, and defiled with the like diſhonest intend-  
ment. Opimius cauſed proclamation to be made, that whosoeuer could bring vnto him the head of Gracchus, ſhould haue the weight of

Ful. Placcus  
a rebellious  
Senatour  
slaine.

Opimius his  
proclamatiō

of the head in gold. Flaccus inciting his ſoldiers on the hill Auentine, was there ſlaine, together with his eldeſt ſonne. C. Gracchus co-  
mitting himſelfe to flight leſt he might fall into the hands of them whō Opimius had ſent to take him, putting his bare necke vnder the naked ſword of his ſeruant Euporus, was of him beheaded: and the ſame Euporus was ſuddenly a ſlaughter-man to himſelfe. Thus the two Gracchi finished the course of their life, men that had a fortunate beginning, ſin-  
iſter proceedings, & a cursed ending, to whom if they had embraced quietneſſe, the commo-  
weale wold haue offered theſe honors, which by tumult and diſquietneſſe they ſought, their mother Cornelia as yet liuing, a vertuous and learned Ladie; who hauing nurtured and tra-  
ined them vp in the ſtudie of learning and ver-  
tuous demeanour, did greatly bewaile, that her good endeuors had ſo bad ſucceſſe, and that her two ſonnes, whom nature pretended to be the ſolace of her age, were ſo ſqdainely and shamefully diſgraced, that ſhe could not ſee their bodies couered with earth, they be-  
ing in moſt diſpetifull maner throwne into

C Gracchus  
beheaded.

Cornelia la-  
menteth her  
children.

Tiber, whose mindes she had furnished and beautified with such excellēt learning, so was her ioy ouercome and surprised with griefe, that she must either loath her children, or else lament for them, but howsouer, for euer lacke them.

In that tract of time C.Marius waging bataille in Numidia against lugurtha, who were both fellow souldiers and managed armes together vnder Scipio Africanus, sent L.Sylla his Quæstor to Bocchus the King of the Mores, to treate and capitulate with him about the taking of Jugurtha, whom by that meane he enjoyed, and being made the second time Consull, in the beginning of his Consulship and in the Calends of Januari, he brought Jugurtha in triumph to Rome. The Cimbrians & Teutons at that time did cause great slaughter and manie massacres of the Romanes in France, and hauing put to flight and discomfited Cæpio, Manlius, Carbo, and Silanus, they killed in fight Scaurus Aurelius one of the Consuls, and other excellent men of memorable qualities. The people of Rome did not think anie Generall so fit to encounter

C. Marius  
taketh Ju-  
gurtha by  
Sylla his  
meane.

15.1.1563  
15.1.1563

ter

ter these foes as C.Marius: & whilst he was in these warres, he was continually Consull, his third Consulship he spent in warlike preparation, thinking it not sufficient to haue souldiers, but to haue practiled and skilfull souldiers, training them by pettie skirmishes, and encouraging the by the conquest of base townes, to more haughtie and valorous attempts: his fourth Consulship was spent about the warres of Sextus, where he fought with the Teutons: and before that warre finished, he razed out of the world the whole progenie of the Teutons. In his fifth Consulship he planted his fight betwixt the Alpes and Rome, and in that battell Marius him self being Consull, and Q.Catulus Proconsul, a fortunate victorie ensued, farre beyond the expectation of the Romanes, and the admiration of strangers, an hundred thousand men being brought into the power of the Romans wherof some were slaine & some were slaues. By this victorie Marius deserued, that Rome should not repent her selfe of his birth, nor requite his acts with reproch. His sixth Consulship was giue him as the crowne of his merits,

C. Marius his  
third Con-  
sulship.

His fourth  
Consulship.

His fifth Con-  
sulship.

Marius his  
great victo-  
rie which he  
had against  
the Cim-  
brians.

C. Marius his  
sixth Con-  
sulship.

E 3

Saturninus a  
broacher of  
sedition.

yet he is not to be defrauded of the glorie, which during this Consulship did of right belong vnto him, cuen by the confession of the eniuious. Marius being the sixt time Consul, Saturninus one of the Tribunes of the people, did promulgate a lawe, that what lands or demesnes Marius had gained in France by his expulsion of the Cimbrians from thence, should be equally parted & deuided amongst the people of Rome, and that euery Senator should sware to this, thinking to bind them by their oath from dispossessing and disseising the people of these alotmēts and purparties.

Q. Metellus  
oppofeth  
himfelfe a.  
gainftSaturninus.

Marius fauouris the  
lawe of Sa-  
turninus.

Metellus co-  
mitem ihm  
felle to vo-  
luntarie ba-  
nishment.

Q. Metellus a Senator, against whom Saturninus had a burning stomacke, denied to ratifie that lawe by oath, wherupon he had day giuen him to appeare before the Senate. For Marius being wholly addited to please the people in all things, which did not oppugne his owne profit, did greatly fauour the law. Metellus though he were supported in this action by many good and vertuous citizens, yet fearing some bloudshed in the citie by maintaining that cause, committed himfelfe to voluntarie exile, and shortly after water & fire

fire was forbidden him, which was the title & stile of the banishment vfed in Rome. This Saturninus was afterward made the third time Tribune, and because he feared that C. Memmius, who at that time sued for the Consulship, would with maine force oppose himfelfe to his actions and enterprises, he gathered a garrison of fouldiers, and caused him to be slaine. Marius presently rowzing himfelfe for the punishmēt and reuenge of this proud Tribune, and by Senate-councell authorised, charged his bodie with harness, and with a troupe of warlike citizens besieged the Capitoll, which Saturninus and the Praetor Glan- cias, together with Saufeius the Quæstor his adherents did hold as the castle of their de- fence. But Marius cutting in peeces the conduit pipes, enforced them to yeeld, and to submit themfelves promising the life, liuing, and libertie; but when he had them in his po- wer, he made chauocke of them all leauing not one aliue; the house of Saturninus he razed from the lowest foundation. VVhen the con- spiracie of Saturninus was appeased, there began offresh a new quarell betwixt the Se- C. Marius  
besiegeth  
the Capitol.

C. Marius  
putreth the  
conspirators  
to death.

Saturninus  
his house de-  
stroyed by  
Marius.

nators and M. Liuius Drusus a noble Gentleman, eloquent and modest, nature being as bountifull vnto him, as fortune was iniurious; he had alwayes a great desire to restore the former honor to the Senate, and to transferre the iudicall power from the Nobles: for they being possest of that authoritie by the law of C. Gracchus, which is aboue mentioned, did practise extreme and brutish crueltie vppon manie excellent Senators and guiltlesse Citizens, and amongst the rest was slaine P. Rutilius, a man in that age incomparable: yet the fortune of Drusus was such, that he was crosseed and confronted by the Senate, in those matters which he moued for the good & behoofe of the Senate, they either not perceiving, or not willing to perceiue, that though the petitions which Drusus made as Tribune, and as of dutie he ought, sounded and indeed tended to the profite of the people, yet his drift to be this, that the people hauing lesser things graunted them, might permit greater to the Senate, that so giuing them a litle the reyne, they might enjoy the fruite of libertie, but yet might easily be plucked in if there were

The hard  
fortune of  
Drusus.

were anie feare of disorder: which was the onely meane to preserue the dignitie of the Senate, and to restraine the humours of the people, but the eyes of the Senators were so dazeled with enuie toward Drusus, with enmitie toward the people, and selfe-loue toward their owne persons, that they did more allow the pernicious practises of the other Tribunes, then the dutifull meaning of Drusus: despising the reuerence wherwith Drusus did alwayes honour them, and yet digesting the iniuries wherwith his fellow Tribunes did molest them: which vniust and absurd dealing did evidently proceed from the gall of their enuie. Then this good Tribune hauing his mind surcharged with malcontentment, seeing that his honest purpose was maliciously peruerterd, lacking patiēce to bearchis griefe, and constancie to perseuere in his commendable intents, resolued sodainly in a desperat passion to maintaine the faction of the Gracchi, to entertaine into his heart rebellion, to swarue from vertue, to prostrate himselfe to the violence of fortune, and being garded with a great multitude of vndeowne soldiers,

Drusus is  
slaine.

who were seditious Italians, whom Drusus laboured to make free-men of the Estate; he thought to terrifie the citie, but within a short time he was slaine in his owne porch, his side being pierced with a knife, which sheathed in his entrailes, and was left there sticking and filling the mouth of the wound, but when he yeelded vp to the heauens his vitall spirit, casting his eyes vpon the companie that stooede abouthim, & lamenting that dismall chance, he breathed out these words at the last instant

„ and with the surrender of his soule: Tell me  
„ my friends and kinsfolke, may the common-  
„ weale at any time enjoy a more faithfull citi-  
„ zen, then I haue heretofore bene? This ende  
„ of life had that noble Gentleman, who if he  
had bene armed with patience, might haue  
triumphed ouer envy. Caius Marius was now  
become the refuge and defender both of Se-  
nate and people: he was of bodie hardfau-  
red, in maners rigorous, famous for warre, &  
odious in peace, vnsatiable in ambitious de-  
sires, impatient in his wrath, and alwayes at-  
tempting some strange noueltie: he did not  
long after valiantly endeuor to supprese the

C. Marius in  
high reputa-  
tion.

flames

flames and perillous scalefire of the Italian warre, which because it was most dangerously begun and continued, & with great difficultie quenched and ended, I thinke it not amisse to make full description thereof, laying for my foundation the cause which moued the Italians or Latines to reuolt from the Romans; and to breake their faith before constantly kept. But the causes of things are so secret & mysticall, being the most remorte obiects, to which our vnderstanding may aspire, that we may easily be deceiued by disguised and pretended reasons, whilst we seeke for the true and essential causes. For to report things that be done it is easie, because the eye and the tongue may dispatch it, but to discouer and vnfold the causes of things, requireth braine, soule, and the best prowesse of mans nature, wherefore to find out the causes of this warre, diligence must be vsed. This warre is of diuerse men diuersly named, some terme it the Italian, some the Marrian, some the Sociall war: all which haue sufficient reason to make good their seuerall appellations. The Italian warre it was termed, because it was raised by

Y C O D T H O , O R  
such Italiants, as were in league with the Romanes, which was the occasion of the entercourse of manie good turnes and benefits betwixt them and the Romanes: for though they did not injoy the liberties of the city of Rome in such large and ample maner, as the citizens or free men of that Citie, yet they possessed them in farre greater measure, then others which were meere straungers to that Estato, and that by the law of societie, which to the Romanes was alwayes sacred and inuolate: this warre therfore vpon their revolt was termed Sociale, as maintained by them who had contracted & established a league of societie.

The Marsian warre first attempted by the Marsians, The cause & the beginning of this warre in time greatly differ, for the cause hath a retrospect to the first times of the Romane monarchie, when the people of Italie being greatly infested and endamaged by the continual invasions of the Romanes, did watch oportunitie, and with serious expectation attended, if by anie possible meanes they might requite the Romanes with the like,

like, and recover their auncient rights and iurisdictions, and at one instant breake both the league and shake off the feare which they then had of the Romanes, and which was the last marke of their enterprise, rather command then condition with the Romanes. But as there is no euill without excuse, and no prætence without some colour of reason, and no wiles can be wanting to malicious & wrangling wits, therefore an occasion was sought for, whereby peace might be dissolued, and discord warranted. Here now appeareth the error wherein Drusus was intangled. For they made him an instrument or lute to draw vnto them the free vse of the Romane liberties, which in truth they did neither greatly desire, nor strongly hope for, but they looked for a repulse, and thought that would be a good occasion to ground their tumults vpon, and as it were a vaile for their leud endeouours: whereby it is euident that as the cause of this warre is ancient, so the beginning thereof is to be referred to the repulse of Drusus, which happened sixe hundred sixtie and two yeares after the building of Rome. These commo-

The repulse  
of Drusus the  
beginning of  
the Italian  
warre.

tioners of Italie had this purpose and intent, at their festiual meetings to ioyne their heads and hands together, and so to proceed to the Citie, there to worke the death of the two Consuls Sex. Iulius Cæsar, and Martius Philippus: but this matter being discouered, they did presently put to death Scruilius Proconsull, who was sent vnto them at the first beginning of their stirres, by peaceable & reasonable meanes to appease and determine them, and all the other Romanes which were at Afculum, were slaine. This bloudie deed being reported at Rome, did greatly plunge the minds of the Romanes in doubt and sorrow. For this slaughter was as it were an Adamant to draw the other Italians, who did not conspire in this murther to their part, and as a fyre beacon to the Romanes, to giue them warning not to prescribe too much in their prosperitie, but to be circumspect, & by all warie preuention to anticipate these euils, which if it should haue bene neglected of them, would presently haue turned to such a cloud of inconueniences, that the fire which did before serue to giue light, would after haue bent his force

Scruilius  
Proconsull  
slaine by the  
cōmotioners  
of italie.

force to burne and consume: for the next neighbour to admonition is correction, and it is easier to auoide then to escape a danger. But the Romanes with prouident care foreseeing that the defection and revolt of them who were linked in societie with them, might be a great maime to their Estate, & as it were a ladder for forreine and professed enemies to scale the walles of their Citie, did therefore in this war make speciall choise, both of Captaines and souldiers: for meane men were not to be employed in a warre of so great importance, and they that were vnskilfull, were not in the midst of these eminent dangers, to be trained and taught. And because they saw that the commodious ending and composing of this war, was the hinge whereupon the whole estate of the Common-weale did depende; therefore it was decreed by Senate, that both the Consuls ( a rare thing in that Commonweale, and neuer done but when exceeding daunger was feared ) should go in person to the managing of this warre. Neither were the Italiās vnprouided or vnaduised: for they knew, that if they were cōquered, they should

Silo Pope-  
dius a natu-  
rall enemy to  
the Romans.

fall from the estate of fellowes to be slaues, & their league should never more be trusted, which them selues had broken: and if they should enjoy the victorie, that they should then haue all the wealth of the world at commaund. This golden bootie being enameled with a sweete desire of reuenging old iniuries (for they had written them in marble with a pen of yron) did greatly incense their minds, and rauish their spirits with a burning affectiō to fight: The Marsians who brought the first stubble to kindle this flame, were gouerned by Silo Popedius, a man as it seemed by destiny opposed against the Romanes, to whose cares nothing was so delightfull as the report of a Romanes death, hating that hower in which he did not impeach their good estate. He in this respect was diuerse from manie of his countrimen, in that he detested a Romane because he was a Romane. VVherefore hauing singled out some of his factiō, who were partly by the instinct of their nature, partly by his instigation, obdurate and eager in hatred against the Romanes, hauing proposed and shewed vnto them the scope and drift where-

whereunto his purpose did aime, and hauing disclosed the meanes, whereby he hoped to compasse and effect his designments, and lastly hauing declared vnto them the rewards which they might gaine by their valor, he did labour by this speech to inflame their furie, I am moued and enforced to this new enter-  
prise, not by anie ambitious desire of enhau-  
ching my estate, but because I see a poison-  
ful baite of deceit hidden vnder the pretence  
of Societie, because I see too great charges &  
burdens to be imposed vpon vs, because I see  
leuid forreiners to be our commauanders, and  
originarie Italians, though men of good de-  
sert, kept vnder the snaffle, and placed in the  
sinke-hole. I see the credite of our nation de-  
faced, the libertie destroyed, and the state o-  
uerthrowne, and for our great labours vnder-  
taken, and dangers sustained for the Romans,  
we haue this reward, that we are despised by  
them, and they haue not thought it sufficient  
to be aided by vs, vnelleſſe in the pride of their  
spirits they may insult vpon our neckes, men  
of insolent mindes, by nature iniurious to all  
other men and by fortune superiour. If a man

„ Silo Pope-  
dius his o-  
ration to  
the Marsi-  
ans.

Romulus  
& Remus  
bastards.

Nourished  
by a Wolfe.

» should examine from the beginning, and as  
» they say from the roote, the degrees of their  
» estate, what iustice shall he find? nay what in-  
» justice shal he not find? The two twinnes who  
» were the founders of their city, were bastards,  
» begotten by the rape of a holy virgin, and by  
» destinie were cast foorth as of no regard, vn-  
» till a she-wolfe feeling perhaps some fauour  
» of her owne nature in them, did with her dugs  
» nouish them. After, when from milke they  
» were growne to meate, they were fedde by a  
» chough, and when they had attained to mans  
» estate, nothing would please then but a kiing-  
» dome, & a regall citie, the foundation wheroft  
» was solemnized by an augurie deriuied from  
» the flight of Eagles. Thus a most rauenous  
» bird did orminate vnto them a monarchy, thus  
» a most greedie beast whose hungry teeth, and  
» ynsatiable appetite no pray could content,  
» did giue them milke, thus a most theeuish and  
» busie brained birde was their foster-father:  
» These were the portents and signes of their  
» Citie, that it should be a daughter verie like  
» to the parents: these did prognosticate vnto  
» vs the spoiles, rapines, inuasions and violent

incroch-

incrochments that should afterward be made,  
» by the Romanes. And for that cause Romulus  
» wold not make or appoint limits and bounds  
» for his kingdome, that he might by force en-  
» ter into euery soile as his own. But what wold  
» not Romulus do, which had the heart to slay  
» the bloud of his owne and onely brother?  
» And thus was their citie cosecrated by bloud:  
» but some of the Romanes do with impuden-  
» cie denie this fact, some with modestie do  
» doubt of it, some with griefe do conceale it,  
» and they which by cleare prooife are enforced  
» to confesse it, do with this imagination molli-  
» fie the fault, that it was done by the consent  
» but not by the hand of Romulus. But whether  
» he commaunded it, or committed it, he was  
» a murtherer. After this hainous crime ensued  
» the rape of the Sabine virgins, the rauishment  
» of whom they excuse, because they would not  
» yeeld their franke consent to mariage: surely  
» they cannot iustly be reprooved, if they, being  
» a noble people, did denie mariage to such a  
» base assemblie of shepheards, heardsmen and  
» hoggards, newly crept out of the straw: for in  
» that great assemblie of newe vpstartes there  
»

Remus is  
slaine by  
Romulus.

The rape  
of the Sa-  
bine vir-  
gins.

The Ro-  
mane em-  
bassadours  
are despi-  
sed of Hä-  
nibal.

The miser-  
able fa-  
min of the  
Saguntines.

» were but an hundred men, who were lawfully  
» begotten, and these forsooth were at the first  
» made Senators. But nothing doth more be-  
» wray the vniust dealing and lacke of consci-  
» ence in the Romanes, then the lamentable e-  
» state of the Saguntines, who had bin alwayes  
» verie constant in fellowship and friendship  
» toward them, and whilst they did keep their  
» faith to them, they lost their Citie. Saguntus  
» was fiercely besieged by Hanniball, which  
» when the Romanes heard, they sent presently  
» Embassadours to Hannibal to dehort him frō  
» the siege, but being despised they went to  
» Carthage, and there framed a complaint a-  
» gainst Hannibal, pretending that he had bro-  
» ken the league, but failing of their purpose,  
» they returned to Rome. Amids these delaies,  
» that poore citie within eight or nine moneths  
» after the laying of siege was destroied of the  
» Carthaginians, when the inhabitaſts were be-  
» fore consumed with famine, and one of them  
» did eat anotherſ carkasse, and being wearie  
» of the world, because they ſhould not come  
» as captiuies into the enemies power, they  
» made a common ſire, into which, when one of  
them

them had ſlaine another with the ſword, they »  
were throwne. How maniſt and maniſold is »  
the abuse which they offred to the Carthagi- »  
nians? They did incite Masinissa the neigh- »  
bour of the Carthaginians to quarrell with »  
them, who praetended that the Carthaginias »  
ought to haue no more land then Dido the »  
Tyrian queene did enjoy, which was as much »  
as could be measured by the hide of an Oxe »  
being cut into thongs. But could their prescri- »  
ption & poſſeſſion during the ſpace of ſeauen »  
hundred yeares be ſo eaſily diſſipated? by the »  
ſame reaſon the Romanes ſhould content theſe »  
ſelues with the cottages and cabbins, which »  
firſt they inhabited. But the Carthaginians »  
being greatly vexed by Masinissa and the Ro- »  
manes aſſiſting him, did fall proſtrate at the »  
feete of the Romanes, and did grieuously co- »  
plaine of the intollerable couetouerneſſe and »  
pride of Masinissa, and requeſted with teareſ, »  
that of three things they might obtaine one: »  
namely, that either they might equally de- »  
bate the whole cauſe and conrouerſie before »  
the regents of ſome common-weale leaued »  
in ſocietie with them both, and indifferently »

Mafinilla  
quareleth  
with the  
Carthagi-  
nians.

» affected toward them, or that they would  
 » suffer them to defend theselues by iust warre  
 » against the vniust armes of Masinissa, or lastly,  
 » if fauour did more preuaile with them then  
 » truth, that they would once determine and  
 » certainly set downe what and how much they  
 » should yeeld to Masinissa. But the Romanes  
 » did not one whithelpe these afflicted persons,  
 Scipio sent  
as vmpier  
betwixt  
Masinissa  
& the Car-  
thaginians.  
 » and that good Africarus, whom they so  
 » much commended, being sent as an indif-  
 » ferent vmpire betwixt them and their ene-  
 » mie, did make their discord a great deale  
 » more: and the desolate Carthaginians, when  
 » they were enforced to prouide for theselues,  
 » were accused at Rome for the breach of  
 » league, and hereupon they were declared to  
 » be enemies. They had straite commandement  
 » from the Romanes to restore the Romane ho-  
 » stages, to deliuer their money and treasure  
 » into the hands of the Romanes, and by that  
 » meane to purchase the safetie of their Citiie:  
 » all this was done. VVell this was not enough:  
 » the Romanes must haue their shippes, their mu-  
 » nition and weapons: they deliuered these  
 » likewise: yet this suffised not: the Romanes  
 » must

must haue their Citie, and the Carthaginians,,  
 must build some other Citie farre from this:,,  
 this was graunted vnto them, and Carthage,,  
 the fairest Citie of all Affricke was by them,,<sup>The Citie  
of Cartha-  
ge burnt.</sup>  
 presently burnt, and turned euuen with the,,  
 ground. Here when the Romanes were pres-,,  
 sed and vrged with their promise, their answer,,  
 was, that in speaking of the safetie of the Ci-,,  
 tie, they did meane the safetie of the citizens,,  
 and inhabitants, not of the Citie which did,,  
 consist of stone and timber: O snares! O im-,,  
 postures! O sophistrie! can the Romans with-,,  
 out blushing obiect perfidiosenesse and tre-,,  
 cherie to the Carthaginians? Surely as they,,  
 dealt with them being leagued in ancient so-,,  
 cietie with them, so I am afraid they wil deale,,  
 with vs. And I do the rather suspect it, because,,  
 I see they will stil haue a difference betwenee,,  
 them selues and vs. Hercin lieth a mysterie,,  
 I will not say of the Punicke fraude, but of the,,  
 Romane arte. And when it pleaseth them to,,  
 drawe the curtaine, we shall be made their,,  
 slaues, and our goods their dearling. VVher-,,  
 fore I request you all with all the vehemensie,,  
 and force of my minde, that you would with,,

one heart contend for the recouerie & defence of liberty, and that you would at length aime at such a common-weale, wherein right and law, not the priuate will of powerful men may beare sway. To the which purpose I know all the other people of Italie ioyned in league and fellowship with vs, will affoord the diligent assistance of their persons, and the best wealth of their treasuries. As for me, such hath my birth, such hath my education bene, that I preferre the dignitie of my countrey, and the libertie of this common-weale before all things in the world. VVhich if you do so desirously embrace, I am fully resolued to lay my life open to all dangers, without anie regard of estate or priuate respect: if not, I will lay downe weapons, and leaue the estate of the common-wealth as it now standeth, to your owne discretion.

The Marsians hearing the name of liberty, did greedily receiue it, and therefore applausing to Popadius, as informing them of that which was most for their vse, because there appeared in his speech no signes of couetousnesse or ambition, but an earnest and vehement

hement desire of publique good, did resolute to follow him as their generall.

They had no sooner set vp flagge of defiance against the Romanes, but there resorted vnto them a huge multitude of all the prouinces of Italie: so readie are disloyall persons to cast off the yoke of obedience, or common societie, when they haue gotten a head. The metamorphosis truly was verie great, to see the Citie of Rome enuironed on all sides by foes, which before was garded by friends, & there was none almost left to defend the City but the citizens, and nothing to defend the citizens but the Citie. The people that reuolted were the Marsians, the Samnites, the Vmbrians, the Vestini, the Irpini, the Lucani, the Marrusini, the Asculani, the Peligni, the Pisani: and they were led by great Captaines, men of valour and seruice, hauing as great desire to fight with the Romanes, as the Romanes had to rule ouer them. The most of them were of so chiose courage and conduction, that the Romanes had before in many warres relied vpon their seruice. But yet the name of a Romane was such a scepter to their spirits, that

they were still kept in awe and order without anie thought of reuolting. These men were now quite altered, as if they had lately bene at some mart of soules, and had exchaunged their mindes with some men by nature enra ged against the Romanes: and it is greatly to be wondred how the mightie power of the diuine Maestie, doth sway the moments of things, and sorteth them in peremptorie manner to strange and vnlooked for effects, making reason blind, pollicie astonished, strenght feeble, and valour dastardly, turning loue into hatred, feare into furie, boldnesse into trembling, and in the circuite of one minute making the conquered person a conqueror. The Romanes did not in anie warre shewe more wisedome and courage, which two things are in common vnderstanding repugnant, because wisedome for the most part procureth feare in dangerous accidents, which is opposite to courage, and courage causeth rashnesse which is contrarie to wisedome. But so were their fortunes crossed, & the lot of warre was so variable, that this warre was resolutely vndertaken of them, vnhappily continued, and victo-

victoriously concluded. The Romane armie had two Generals: namely P. Rutilius one of the Consuls, whose Lieutenants were Cn. Po peius Strabo, Q. Cæpio, C. Perperna, C. Marius, Valerius Messalla and L. Cæsar the other Consul, who had these Lieutenants, P. Lentulus, T. Didius, P. Licinius Crassus, L. Cornelius Sylla, M. Marcellus, all famous Captains, men of excellent deserit and heroicall qualities, and the most of them fit not onely to manage a warre, but a kingdom, yea an Empire: yet of all these none did obtaine the victorie during the first yeaire of their fight, C. Marius and L. Cæsar onely excepted, yet Cæsar was not long before with his whole armie discomfited, and Marius did with great difficultie atchieue one victorie, which was the beginning of a greater warre. The Consuls did thus dis pose the encounters of them selues and their Lieutenants, L. Cæsar was opposed to Vettius Cato, who led a wing of the Marsian armie, but Cæsar being ouer mated by a man of greater wisedome and magnanimitie, was enforced to flie, and after the slaughter of two thousand of his men, being hotely pursued &

C. Perperna  
discharged  
of his Lieu-  
tenancie.

Q. Cæprio  
slaine.

P. Rutilius  
slaine.

C. Marius  
putteth Ver-  
tius Cato to  
flight.

enchased of the enemy, was constrained (for necessitie will afford no chiose) to take *Æsernia* for his refuge. C. Perperna did encounter P. Præsentcius, who put him likewise to flight, & deuested him of his armie, for which cause he was discharged of his Lieutenancie; and now was C. Marius sought vnto by the Consuls, to whom he yeelded such assistance, that he rather seemed to be their protectour then their champion. P. Rutilius to reuenge the death of Q. Cæprio, who was slaine by the ambush of Popedius, and the quarrell of his fellow Consul, vpon the Marsians, did assay them by battell, but lost a great number of men, & in the end lost himselfe, being slaughtered in the midst of his enemies. C. Marius with a fresh courage renewed the fight, & put to flight with extreme labor Vettius Cato the fatall enemy to both the Consuls. But the messenger who brought the newes of this victorie of Marius to the Romane campe, did meeke there another messenger, who reported vnto them, that Equalius one of the enemies campe had surprised Venafrum a towne of great strength: that M. Lamponius another

of

of their enemies had slaine eight hundred of the armie of P. Licinius Crassus, and had put the residue to flight, that C. Papius Mutilus their enemy, had brought Nola a flourishing Colonie of the Romanes into his power, together with Q. Posthumius their Prætor, that he had also taken Stauia, Minturna and Salernum, and did nowe besiege Acerra a chiefe towne. These newes succeeding the other did make the Romanes to heare with ioy, and to remember with sorow. But no better fortune did ensue: for M. Marcellus being assigned for the defence of *Æsernia* was taken prisoner by the Samnites, who surprised that Colonie. Cn. Pompeius was by three Captaines of the aduerse part, Iudacilius, *Æfranius*, and Venti- dius fiercely encountring, driuen to the village of Firmo, and there besieged. L. Cæsar had a prosperous victorie against the Samnites, but C. Marius fighting against the Marsians with doubtfull event, did recompence the death of euerie enemy with the losse of his owne souldiers: so constant is the fortune of warre in inconstancie. Now was come the second yare of this daungerous warre, which

C. Marius  
fought equal  
ly against the  
Marsians.

C Marius dis-  
liked by the  
Consul Por-  
tius.

continued old broiles, and made new Consuls Cn. Pompeius Strabo, L. Portius Cato, both which were by the decree of the Senate enioyed to take vpon them the charge of this warre. They brought some new Lieutenants in the place of some that were dead, and some that were discharged. The succeeding Lieutenants were A. Albinius, Cosconius, Luceius, A. Gabinius, Sulpitius, L. Muræna, Cæcilius Pius, Mamercus Æmilius. It seemeth that Rome in these dayes was a verie schoole of warfare, which did yeeld the supply of such excellent Captaines, after the departure of Captaines not much more excellent. C. Marius vpon a disliking conceived by the Consul Portius ( priuate humor is alwayes an enemy to publike good ) was discharged of his place. But so it happened, that the Romanes changed their fortune with their Consuls, but the Italians were more daunted and disanimated by the continuance of the warre, then encouraged by the increase of their victories. For a base spirit cannot joy in any honorable matter, & nothing more deuoureth the heart of a rebellious or trecherous person, then the inward

inward fire of a glowing conscience. L. Sylla had a notable victorie against the Samnites, and did ransacke their tents. Cn. Pompeius did constraine the Vestini, the Peliani, and the Æsculani, and the Pisani to yeeld vnto him. Sylla did kil Cluentius a Captaine of the contrarie part at Nola, and he brought vnder his power the Irpini. A. Gabinius did fight prosperously against the Lucani, and tooke many of their great townes, but when he wold haue spoiled their tents, he was slaine. Sulpitius having slaine all the souldiers of the Marrucini, did reduce that whole region into the subjection of the Romanes. L. Muræna and Cæcilius Pius had manie encounters against the Marsians, and in the ende enforced them to yeeld, but Popedius their Captaine the author of this warre was slaine in fight, in which war Portius Cato was also slaine, not through his owne default, nor by the valor of his enemies, but through the malicious stomacke of the sonne of C. Marius, who in reuenge of his fathers quarrell, did throw his dart at him, and with a deadly wound did make him fall prostrate to the ground : but because he could

Syllaes vi-  
ctor against  
the Samnites.

Cn. Pomp.  
Strabolis  
victories.

Sylla killeth  
Cluentius.

A. Gabinius  
after a pros-  
perous fight  
is slaine.

Sulpitius  
bringeth the  
Marrucini to  
obedience.

Popedius is  
slaine.

Portius Cato  
slaine.

thing therefore as vailed with vtmost darke-  
nesse, I do with all humblenesse leue to him  
who hath reserued it to himselfe: & this onely  
I obserue, which euerie man may note in the  
sequel of this historie, that the Romans were  
punished by the Romanes for their wrongs  
& iniuries (if I may vse coniection in so thicke  
a mist) done to their neighbours and others.

Not long after the death of Drusus the Con-  
sulship inuested vpon Q. Pompeius & L. Cor-  
nelius Sylla, who before his victory could not  
be too highly commended, and after neuer  
sufficiently dispraised: so contrarie and oppo-  
site he was to him selfe, being more mercifull  
in the combat, then after the conquest, and  
Sylla fighting in the field was not so cruell as  
Sylla triumphing in the towne. He was nobly  
descended, being the sixth man from Corne-  
lius Rufinus, who was one of the chiefe Cap-  
taines in the warre against Pyrrhus. For the  
glorie and credite of that familie had bene  
long intermitted, and was almost perished,  
till it was raised and rampired vp by Sylla to  
the ancient grace, and restored with an ouer-  
plus to the former dignitie. Sylla did a long

Sylla is made  
Consul.

Sylla his co-  
trary nature  
His descent.

Cn. Pompeius  
Strabo tri-  
umpheth.

not be discerned in such confusion offight, &  
in the heate of the battell, he was not impea-  
ched for his trecherous murder. The Romans  
hauing enjoyed and accomplished all things  
according to their desire, returned with the  
great joy and gratulation of their fellow citi-  
zens. Cn. Pompeius, for his ample victories  
& great desert was rewarded with a triumph.  
Thus was the Italian warre being left to the  
Romanes as the legacie of Drusus ended and  
appeared, which wrought two notable effects:  
for it brought the Italians from societie to ser-  
uitude, and refusing the bridle they receiuied  
the yoke, and were euer after kept vnder the  
chaine of perpetuall commaund, but the Ro-  
manes it made glorious and invincible: for  
their iust warres had alwayes good successe,  
and their vniust warres or inuasions, could not  
(as may partly appeare by this Italia vprore)  
by forraigne warre be reuenged. But for the  
cause hereof let no man make search or in-  
quirie, sith it is no where to be sooud saue only  
in God his decretall booke, the contents  
wherof as I cannot know, so the comments  
of man in this matter I may not beleue. This  
thing

Mithridates  
an enemy to  
the Romans.

Sylla besie-  
geth Nola.

time behauē him selfe so modestly and contentedly, that he seemed to be without all intent for being for the Consulship, but after his Praetorship being much renowned by the Italian warre, & for his great exploits in France, hauing slaine the stoutest Captains of the aduerse part, he tooke stomacke by reason of his good successe, and making sute for the Consulship, was made Consull, not one citizen almost withdrawing his consent; and that honour he purchased when he was eighty and fortie yeares olde. At that time Mithridates king of Pontus, a sharpe and victorious soldier, being sometime great in prosperitie, and at all times great in courage, in counsell wise, in strength mightie, in hatred against the Romans another Hannibal, had taken and possess Asia, where he put to death all the Romans that did there inhabite: the region of Asia did by lot happe to Sylla as his prouince, he addressing him selfe thitherward with as great speed as he could possibly make, came at length to Nola, which he besieged, for that Citie did most stubburnly resist the Romans, revolting from that faithfulness which the

Nolanes

Nolanes did religiously obserue and exhibite to the Romanes in the Carthaginian warres: but not long after the laying of this siege, he was abridged of his Generalship by Sulpitius a Tribune, who being in wealth, fauor, friend-ship, wit, and courage great amongst the Romanes, hauing before sought dignitie by desert, did now by his leud decrees and disloyall practises deserue to loose his dignitie. He assigned to C. Marius an imperiall præheminence, & the regimēt of all the prouinces that belonged to the citie of Rome, which honors as Marius did ambitiously desire, so Sulpitius did iniuriously dispose: and therewithall he enacted that Sylla should be called from Asia, and Marius should be Generall in his place; manie other pernicious lawes he established, both intollerable and detestable: for conclusion, he ended in murther, procuring by his bloud-thirsty seruants the death of one of the Pompeys, sonne to Q. Pompeius, and Syllaes sonne in lawe. Sylla hearing of this sodaine change, and being solicited by the letters of his dearest friends, made speedie returne to the Citie, which hauing taken by force of

Sulpitius a  
sedition. Tri-  
bune alte-  
red the state

The ambitiō  
of Marius.

Murder com-  
mitted by  
Sulpitius.

Syllaes re-  
belling vpon  
the editio[n]s

armes he drove out of it the twelue authours of this newe and damnable faction, amongst whom was C. Marius and his sonne, together with P. Sulpitius the first beginner of discord, Sulpitius being taken by Syllaes horsemen in the Laurentine fennes was there beheaded, & for the guerdon of his cruelty, his head being afterward conuoyed to Rome, was erected vpon a pinnacle ouer the barre of the Senate house. C. Marius (a cleare mirroure of this worlds vnonconstancie) to whom if you will place him amongst the fortunate, you must assigne the highest seate, if amongst the vnsfortunate, the lowest; hauing before enjoyed all pleasures which prosperitie could yeeld, and now suffering all troubles which aduersitie could bring) after his sixth consulship, and the sixtieth yeare of his age, for the auoyding of Syllaes horsemen, stripped himselfe naked, & flying to a marrish of reedes did there hide himselfe, plunging so deepeley into the mud, that nothing could be seene of him but his eyes and nostrels, who being afterward destryed, was drawne by a thong of leather tied to his neck, into the prison of Minturnia. There

The extreme  
miserie of  
C. Marius.

was

was sent to kill him a captiue slave, whom Marius had taken prisoner in the battel which he fought against the Cimbrians: this bloudie Cimbrian assaying to strike Marius, was suddenly amazed, and terrifid by the maiestie of his countenance, though Marius was then full of yeares, full of miserie, and void of weapons: but the slave seeing so bright a starre in so darke a dungeon, reuerencing the man whom he had before feared, and perswading himselfe that it was impossible for one man to worke his death, who not long before had almost destroyed the whole nation of the Cimbrians, left him aliue, and in trembling maner departed from his presence. The Minturnians because they held the worthinesse of Marius in high reputation, deliuered him out of prison, and attirring him with conuenient apparell, bestowing vpon him a pilgrims viande, which might for a season relieue his hunger, dismissed him out of their Citie. He hauing overtaken his sonne at Aemaria, directed his voyage vnto Affricke, where he led a poore and wretched life in the ruines and desolate re[n]ants of the Citie of Carthage. Sylla leuied

A captiue  
slave sent to  
kill Marius.

The Minturn-  
ians friends  
to Marius.

an armie & renewed his iourney toward Asia, (the yere wherein Sylla was Consull, was the first yere in which the Romane souldiers did slay their Consull; for then Q. Pompeius being fellow Consull with Sylla, was slaine by the seditious armie of Cn. Pompeius Proconsull.) After the broiles of Marius and Sulpitius the tumults of Cinna succeeded, who was not one iote more temperate then those disorderly and enormous quarellers, or rather furious and traiterous conspirers. He was Consull with Cn. Octavius, who because one of them namely Cinna, fauoured Marius, and the other Sylla, fell to a sodaine iarre, & maintaining seuerall armies in the Citie, caused much terror, and some bloudshed. Cinna was

Cinna be-  
ginneþ a  
new broyle.

Cinna is ex-  
pulsed the  
City.

Cinna is  
made Cap-  
taine of a se-  
ditous ar-  
my.

expulsed the Citie by the power of Octavius and the Senators, his Consulship was abrogated, and in his place L. Cornelius Merula, Iupiter's priest was elected. Cinna hauing corrupted the Centurions, Tribunes & souldiers with hope of liberalitie, was admitted of that armie (which was as yet about Nola) for their Capitaine, and hauing sworne all his souldiers to obesiance and loyaltie, he marched in his Consul-

Q. Pompeius  
his sonne.

Consul-robes toward Rome, his armie consisting of three hundred bands of good souldiers amounting in the view of spials to the number of thirtie legions: but though he had manie souldiers and much courage, he lacked notwithstanding factiorers and fauourites to uphold him, and was destitute of popular credit, which might bolster and support his doings. For supplying of which want, he called from banishment C. Marius and his sonne, with all the other Romanes which were before by Syllaes horsemen chased out of the Citie. Whilest Cinna was thus preparing warre against his mother towne, Cn. Pompeius father to that great state, of whom we shall hereafter speake, whose worthie actes in the Marsian warre, together with his victorie at Asculum, was verie beneficiall and commodious to the common-weale, being frustrate of hope to continue the Proconsulship, shewed him selfe verie indifferent and equall to the factioris, doing all things for his proper and priuate good, and lying in waite for oportunitie to serue his owne turne and aduancement, enclining his armie this way and that way, now as a

Cinna cal-  
leth C. Ma-  
rius and his  
sonne from  
banishment.

Cn. Pom-  
peius father  
to Pompey  
the great at his  
dissembling  
and vnon-  
stancy.

A great fight  
betwixt  
Cinna and  
Cn. Pompeius

Cinna en-  
treth the city

C. Marius  
recalled fro  
banishment,  
entreth the  
city.

fallourer to Cinna, & now as a friend to Sylla, following fortune by conjectures, and determining to ioyue with him, who by all likelihood should be most puissant: at length he encountered with Cinna before the citie wals, where after a maine sea of bloudshed, the Romanes that were vpon the walles, beholding the slaughter of their brethren, friends and kinsfolke vnder the walles, the battell was fully finished, but the victorie was doubtfull. Not long after Cn. Pompeius died, by whose death the souldiers of Cinna conceiued so great ioy and gladsomnesse, that they forgat the finall ouerthrow of their fellow souldiers, and the Romans did bestow their reuenge vpon Pompey being dead, which they did owe to him being aliue. Cinna and Marius did not without great hauocke of men and matrons invade the citie: but Cinna entred first, and published a lawe touching the receiuing of Marius, then C. Marius entred the walles with a most fatall and daungerous returne to the citie of Rome. Nothing had bene more bloudie then his entrance, if his death had not shortly ensued: for hauing possessed the citie,

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he was more vnsatiate in his crueltie then any rauenous tiger, and more mercilesse in his tragical punishments, then any furie, breathing nothing but bloud, and delighting in nothing but murder, neither did the licentious rage of his wrath content it selfe with the bloud of meaner men, but it seised vpon the states and starres of the citie. Then did Octavius one of the Consuls, a man of a mild & douelike humor, render vp his life into the pawes of these wolues: and Merula, who a little before the returne of Cinna had through feare renounced the Consulship, cut in peeces his owne veines, and sprinkling his lukewarme bloud vpon the altar, vpon which he had often sacrificed the bloud of beasts, and intreating the gods for the execratiō of Cinna, to whom he had often prayed for the preseruation of the citie, gaue vp his fainting ghost in a great agonie of mind. M. Antonius the chiefe of the citie, and the Phænix of eloquence, was slain at the commaundement of Marius and Cinna, by the swords of their souldiers, whome by the sweetnesse of his eloquence he did a long time restraine and delay from the killing

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Octavius  
put to death  
by the cru-  
eltie of Marius

Merula cut-  
teth in pe-  
ces his own  
veines.

M. Antonius  
the Orator  
put to death  
by Marius &  
Cinna.

Q. Caenius  
cause of his  
owne death.

of him. Q. Caenius a man famous for his vertues and valour in the Cimbrian warre, the glorie of which he did participate with Marius, as we haue aboue reported, when he was hunted to death by these greedie bloud-hounds, shut himself into a narrow closet that was newly pargeted with lime, and hauing there a fire of burning coales, which might raise vp a sudden dampe, stopping his breath with a vaporous and dankish smoke, departed this world, rather according to his owne will then his enemies will: then were the streetes, channels, theaters, market places, and temples strewed and overspread with carcasses, so that it could hardly be iudged, whether these two tyrants did slay more that they might obtaine the victorie, or more were put to the sword that they might safely enioy the victorie. For euerie one to whome Marius would not reach out his hand by way of salutation, was immediatly slaine. The common weale was now in a tottering and ruinous estate: covetousnesse was the cause of cruckie, and the more wealthie a man was, the more faultie he was iudged: the accuser of a rich man had his

pay

pay and reward out of the coffers of him that was accused: and then was profit and honestie confounded and made one. Afterward Cinna and Marius were Consuls, Cinna was now the second time Consul, Marius the seuenth time, who in that consulship died, a Roman in war terrible to his enemies, in peace to his friends, and at all times impatient of quietnesse: in his place was chosen Valerius Flaccus. Cinna being now the sole regent of Italic, the greatest part of the Nobilitie fled to Sylla into Achaia, who in the meane time did so fight with Mithridates his Lieutenants and Coronels about Athens, Macedonia, and Beotia, that he tooke Athens, and made great hauocke of his enemies. But if any impute the rebellion of these times vnto the citie of Athens, he is altogether ignorant of the truth. For the faith of the Athenians was alwaies so firme and inuiolate towards the Romanes, that euerie action which was performed without blemish or staine of promise, was said to be done by an Athenian faith: but they being heauily oppressed by the vnsufferable vslage of Mithridates his host, were besieged of their

C. Marius  
died.

The Atheni-  
ans faithfull  
to the Ro-  
manes.

friends, when they were held captiue of their enemies, and obaying necessarie slayed their bodies within the wals, though their minds were without, and entirely with the Romans. Sylla did then conduct his armie into Asia, where he found Mithridates very tractable & suppliant vnto him whome he punished with the painent of a great summe of mony, and with the losse of part of his nauie, enioyning him to depart out of Asia, and out of all the prouince which he had vniustly inuaded, and constraining him to content himselfe with the inheritance discended from his father, which was the kingdome of Pontus: he tooke from Mithridates the Romane prisoners without ransome, and vsed great seueritie against the traiterous reuolts, and runagates. Sylla hauing thus appeased and qualifiéd forraine afaires, went by sea toward Rome, and in the way met him certaine ambassadours from the Parthian king, which were sent to gratulate his victorie, he being the first of the Romanes to whome the king of Parthia sent ambassadours. There was nothing more worthie among Syllas labours, then that whole three  
 The king of  
 Parthia sen-  
 deth Ambas-  
 sadours to  
 Sylla.  
 years

yeares space, whilst the factiōnes of Cinna & Marius did besiege the townes of Italie, he neither pretended any fauour toward them, neither did he omit that which he had in hād, namely the subduing and vanquishing of forraine enemies: for he knew when external tumults were ended, he might with more ease extinguish domesticall enemies. Before the comming of Sylla, Cinna in a mutinie of his owne souldiers was slaine, a captaine more worthie to be adiudged to death by the discretion of the conquerour, then to loose his life through the furie of his souldiers, of whom it may truly be said, that he aduentured those things which no vertuous man wold attempt, & that he brought those things to passe, which none but a valiant souldier could accomplish. His fellow Cōsul Carbo hauing no colleague did now prædominate and beare sway. Sylla hauing entred Italie, it was thought he came not as a reuenger of warre, but as an authour of poace, with such quietnesse and mildnesse he lead his armie through Calabria and Apulia, with a great & speciall regard of the growing corne, of meddowes, of men, of castles,  
 Cinna is  
 slaine.  
 Sylla passeth  
 quietly tho-  
 rough Italie.

and cities, and indeed he assayed by lawfull articles, and equall conditions, to appease the discord, but peace could not please them which were immoderately couetous. Sillaes army did daily increase, euery good and discrete Italian making recourse vnto him, and he had a most happy victory about Capua against Scipio and Norbanus Consuls, Norbanus being ouercome by fight, Scipio being forsaken of his army, yet Sylla gaue him leaue to depart, without hurt or hindrance, so vnlike was he to himselfe in his warres, and after his victory, for whilste the victorie was fresh, he was more mild then equitie required, but when peace had taken roote, he was more cruell then any barbarous Scythian, for Q. Sertorius the fury and firebrand of that rebellious warre, which not long after ensued, being disarmed by Sylla, was sent away in safety, and many others he did with the lame clemency intreate: of purpose, as I thinke, that he might giue an example of a double and diuerte mind in oþer man: and by that meane shroud and couer the contents of his heart. At that time to fill vp the measure

Sylla dismis-  
seth Serto-  
rius without  
hurt.

of

of publike mishap, in the city of Rome, where before men did emulate one another in vertuous actions, now they did combate and contend in malicious practises, & he thought himselfe the best man, that was most wicked and iniurious. Sylla had three mighty aduersaries, Carbo, and C. Marius, the sonne of Marius that was the seauenth time Consull, which both were Consuls whilste Sylla rong an allarme at the gates of Preneste, and Pontius Telesinus, who leuying an army of the Samnites, did stoutly confront Sylla before the walles of Preneste, he was an Italian borne, but was not free of the city of Rome, a valiant souldier and a great enemy to a Romane name, who stood in defence of Preneste, but not with the Consuls. This Telesinus conducting forty thousand fighting men ioyned battell with Sylla at Collina, and brought both him and the commo-weale to extreame danger: for Rome was not in greater feare, when the tents of Hannibal were but three miles distant from her walles. Telesinus did greatly encourage his souldiers, saying that the day of their battell was the last period of

Sylla fighteth  
with Teles-  
inus a Sam-  
nite.

the Romane glorie, and he cried that Rome,  
Rome must be throwne downe, and razed fro  
the foundations, adding therewithall that  
there wold neuer be wanting inuadours of the  
Italian liberties, as long as the wood stooede  
where such wolues were harbourred. At the

first houre of the night the Romane armie re-  
uiued their courage, Telesinus the next day  
after was found halfe dead, bearing the coun-  
tenance rather of a conqueror then of a man  
subdued, whose head being cut off Sylla com-  
maunded to be caried along the streetes of  
Preneste. C. Marius, his life being in a des-  
perate case, was faine to creepe through certainte  
holes of the earth to escape his enemies, but  
he was slaine of Syllaes souldiers that were  
appointed for that purpose, of which toward-  
ly gentleman, what opinion Sylla caried, a  
man may easily conjecture: for when he was  
slaine he intituled himselfe Sylla the fortunate,  
which had indeed bene true if he had ended  
his life with his victories. For hauing entred  
the citie and vsurped the Dictatorship, which  
had bene an hundred and twentie yeare inter-  
mitted, (for the last Dictator before Sylla  
was

was made the first yare after Hannibals de-  
parture out of Italic, so that it was apparant,  
that the Romanes did not so much desire the  
use of a Dictator, as they did feare his tyran-  
nie) he began presently to broach the bloud  
of citizens, hauing alreadie drawne to the  
bottome the bloud of straungers: foure legi-  
ons of souldiers, who had bene of the contra-  
rie faction, and had now vpon couenant of  
life submitted themselves to his mercie, cal-  
ling in vaine vpon the faith of a Romaine sol-  
dier, he caused to be slaine: fие thousand of  
that armie which fought against him at Pre-  
nest, being promised life by P. Cethegus his  
Lieutenant, he put to a sudden and vnlooked  
for death, and caused their ioynts to be pluck-  
ed in peeces, and commaunded that they  
should be dispersed and cast abrode in the  
wastes and mores. After these great and ex-  
treme cruelties, he put in practise the heauie  
penaltie of proscription, which if it had died  
with Sylla, would haue beene a great part of  
the Romane happynesse: by that meanes he  
brought to passe, that whose names soever he  
writ in the table of proscription, should be

Silla causeth  
the souldiers  
of Preneste  
to be slaine.

ED. M. M.  
1581

Proscription  
put in pra-  
ctise by Sylla

Upon their attachment presently put to death, their goods also were subject to sale, every one taking the benefit to whome Sylla would graunt it: neither was he content to rage against them onely which had before opposed them selues to him, but the most quiet and innocent citizens for the greatnesse of their wealth he depriued also of life, and against silly women did he bend his wrath, as not satisfied with the death of men: and, which was a signe of a Thracian crueltie, as soone as the heads of the slaine citizens were parted from their trembling corfes, breathing as yet, their faces being not wholly depriued of a vitall bloud, he did gaze vpon them, and tosse them in his hands that he might feed on them with his eyes, though he could not crush them with his teeth. With what sauagerie did he haue himselfe in the killing of M. Marius,

M. Marius  
slain by Silla.

Sylla's  
rage against  
M. Pletorius.

whose eyes were pluckt out before his death, and euery part of his bodie was stundred and disloynted: and at that instant he enforced his sword through the bowels of M. Pletorius, because he seemed to be grieved with the torture of M. Marius. O extreme punisher of pit-

tie

tie and compassion, to whome it seemed a crime not to consent to crueltie. Neither did he spare the dead, for the ashes of C. Marius, the elder, he caused to be raked out of the graue and throwne into a riuere. Sylla whilste he sought the victorie, was to the Romanes a Scipio, whilst he vsed it a very Mithridates. Many other bloudsheds he did commit, and more would he haue committed, had not the terour of a guiltie conscience followed him, with the blazing brand of his vexed souls, which torment some cal an ecstasie, some melancholie, some madnesse, but I denying it to be any one of these, allow it to be all these, doubtlesse it is a thing sooner felt then known, not to be auoided by medicine but by true felicitie. In this perplexitie he died, and yet Sylla dyeth. ceased not the ciuill or rather vnciuil and vnbrotherly discord; thus was Rome the famous citie of Europe, the mother and nurce of worthie Senators, the miracle of nations, the epitomie of the world, the kingdome of Mars, and the seauenheaded soueraignc of many prouinces exceedingly shaken with these quarrels, stained with these bloudsheds, and

The ashes of  
C. Marius  
thrown into  
a riuere by  
Sylla.

grievously discomfited with the death of her children, her babes were brought foorth for the sword to glut vpon, the bodies of her an-  
cients were made as pavements to walk vpō,  
her matrons became a pray and prize to eue-  
ry rauisher, her priests and deuoute sacrificers  
were slaine before the gates of the temples.  
Syllaes bodie was conuicted in sumptuous  
manner to Campus Martius, in which place  
before the buriall the two Consuls, namely

M. Emilius Lepidus, and Q. Catulus Ca-  
tulus did earnestly debate about the repea-  
ling and cancelling of the acts and decrees of  
Sylla. Lepidus vrged that they who were pro-  
scribed by Sylla, ought incontinent to be re-  
duced to the citie, and there to haue restitu-  
tion of their goods. Catulus together with the  
Senate defended the contrarie, saying that  
though his motion were good and honest, yet  
it might be the beginning of some tumult,  
which would be most daungerous if it were  
suddenly done, because the common-weale  
was but newly recomforted, and had as yet  
enjoyed but a short pause of tranquilitie. By  
this dissencion they fell to weapons, Cn. Po-  
peius

Debate be-  
twixe Lepi-  
dus and Ca-  
tulus Con-  
suls touchiug  
the decrees  
of Sylla.

Cn. Pompeius and Q. Catulus hauing gathered an ar-  
mie did proffer battell to Lepidus, and in a  
light skirmish ouercame him. Not long be-  
fore the death of Sylla, Q. Sertorius rising in

armes maintained warre in Spaine: for when  
he saw that the faction of Marius which he  
specially fauoured, was vtterly defeated and  
dissipated by L. Sylla, he fled presently into  
Spaine, where before he had bene Pretor, &  
there hauing gathered a great host and con-  
triuued an huge nauie, fearing lest Sylla, who  
had put Carbo to flight and slaine Marius,  
should send an armie against him, he caused

Liuius Salinator his Licutenant to encampe  
in the mountaines of Pyrænum, but he was  
afterward slaine by C. Anius the Romane  
Proconsul, who was sent thither to abate the  
courage of Sertorius, and after him Q. Me-  
tellus was also sent; but their proceedings  
were not prosperous. VVherefore Cn. Pompeius  
being as yet a priuate man, had charge  
gauen him of the Senate to go into Spaine.  
There came at that time for the aide and as-  
sistance of Sertorius, M. Perperna with a great  
multitude of soldierns. Cn. Pompeius made

Cn. Pompeius Mag-  
nus and Q. Catulus fight  
with Lepi-  
dus and o-  
uercame  
him.

Sertorius le-  
uith armes  
in Spaine.

Liuius Salin-  
ator the  
Lieutenant  
of Sertorius  
slaine.

way for himself through the Alpes, betwixt the famous springs of Padus and Rhodanus. He immediately after his coming into Spain, did enter into conflict with two of Sertorius his capaines, Herennius and Perperna, and not farre from the citie of Talentia ouercame them: Herennius was there slaine, Perperna escaped by flight. Pompey did passe the winter in the Pyrenzean mountaines, Sertorius in Lusitania, and at the beginning of the spring, Metellus and Pompeius did encounter with severall armes Sertorius and Perperna, in which bastell Sertorius constrained Pompey to fly, and Metellus draue Perperna to the like extremitie, Pompey was at that time wounded in the thigh, afterward they met againe at Seguntia, where Sertorius did the second time overthrow Pompey, and Metellus Perperna; the third time when Sertorius was coming against Metellus, Pompey meeting him in the way, caused him to retire; Sertorius did againe oppose himself to Pompey, having taking Segida a noble citie of Celeribia, where Sertorius lost a thousand souldiers & Pompey as many: then they turned thesclues

8

to

to the besieging of townes, Pompey did besiege Palantia, but Sertorius did raise the siege, and of them which besieged Caliguriū he did slay three thousand. Metellus and Pompeius with great stoutnesse & stomacke took many cities that were leagued with Sertorius and at Ilerda and Ilosca the townes of the Ilergitanes they put Sertorius to a desperate plunge, but Caligurium the citie of the Viscons he did with much prowelße & puissance defend. Sertorius was like to Jugurth in his fight, and in his fortune not vnlike to him, the exploits and stratagemes of them both were singular and admirable, but their end and last euent was miserable and mournefull: Jugurtha was taken by treacherie: Sertorius by the treason of M. Antonius and M. Perperna his capaines was slaine, as he was sitting at a bāquet, in the eight yeare of his rebellion, his empire was presently transferred to M. Perperna, whome Pompey ouercame, tooke prisoner, and put to death, and in the tenth yeare after the beginning of this warre, he tooke Spaine. The Romanes were in these times busied & molested in Italie by certaine

Sertorius is  
slaine.

fencers or sword players, trayned vp in a shad-  
dowed fight vnder the gouernment of Lentu-  
lus, but defying their maister, and stirred with  
an hellish humor, to feate themselves in the  
highest thrones of honor (for as fire is to gun-  
powder, so is ambition to the heart of man,  
which if it be but touched with selfe loue  
mounteth aloft and neuer bedeth downward  
till it be turned to ashes) they raunged them-  
selues, and drew to their ensignes a great mu-  
titude offorlorn men. For in processe of time  
their armie did encrease to fourescore thou-  
sand and moe. The leaders were Spartacus,  
Enomans, and Crixus, who making great  
spoile and saccage in Italie, at length imbat-  
telled themselves vpon the mountaine Ve-  
surius. Against them were sent Clodius Gla-  
ber, and Publius Varinius, but their armies  
were suddenly by these enemies discomfited:  
therefore the yeare next ensuing C. Lentu-  
lus and L. Gellius Consuls, and Q. Arrius the  
Prætor prepared agaist them. Crixus one of  
these rebellious capitaines, was together with  
his whole armie vtterly ouerthowne, but  
Spartacus, in whome was more vigor of si-  
newes,

newes, courage, and counsell, conducting  
his souldiers from the Apennine mountaine,  
to the Alpes, and from the Alpes into France,  
was at the first enforced to retire by one of  
the Consuls, by the other to flye. But after-  
ward hauing animated, surueyed, and mar-  
shalled his men, he did suddenly turne backe  
vpon the Consuls, gaue them battell, in seve-  
rall places ouercame them: & was marching  
toward Rome there to possesse himself of the  
Capitole, and to erect a monarchie, but that  
the Consuls reuniting their dissipated forces,  
did hardly with much labour & great slaugh-  
ter of men restraine and hinder him. But he  
hauing lost his purpose, yet not loosing his  
time surprised the goodly citie of the Thuri-  
rians, where breathing for a while & refresh-  
ing his armie, and soone after reencountring  
the Romanes, he obtained a glorious victo-  
rie, and a plentiful spoile. This successe did  
notably enhance the pride of Spartacus, who,  
presuming now that he was better then the  
Consuls, thought himselfe therefore fit to be  
a king. And as Athenio not long before, a  
shepheard and drudge in the fields, hauing

Spartacus a  
fence-plaier,  
doth encoun-  
ter the army  
of the Con-  
suls.

Spartacus  
takeith the  
citic of the  
Thurians.

slaine his maister in Sicilie, and mustred vnder ensigne a great number of vagrant persons, by whose meanes he did spoile, and lay wast many hamlets, castles, and villages, and applauding to himselfe in this successfull pilage and roguerie, was adorned with a purple garment, strowted and walked along with a staffe of siluer, and enuironed his head with a crowne of gold: so did this rebell of Italie assume to himselfe a regall pompe and title, & making fortune his rest, which of all things is most vnlike to it selfe, thought he might as easily continue as beginne a conquest. But the Romanes who neuer could suffer victorie to warnie her selfe long with the robes of a straunger, committed the whole scope and charge of the warre to M. Crassus their Prætor, a man ambitious and venturous: he having ioyned battell with Granicus one of the rebell chieftaines, did slay both the captaine and thirtie ffe thousand of his souldiers, and after fighting with Spartacus did slay him, & with him fortie thousand, ffe thousand onely escaped, whom Cn. Pompeius returning from the Spanish warre, did suddenly meeke and

M. Crassus  
appointed  
for the warre  
against Spar-  
tacus.

and presently put to the sword. After these times M. Cicero being Consul, whose nouity and strangenesse in Rome, the nobilitie and rarchesse of his good gifts might iustly excuse who for all his excellent qualities was more beholding to nature then education, as for his vertue famous, so for his eloquence most famous, by whom it was that the Romanes were not inferiour to them in wit, whom they vanquished in warre, the conspiracie of Catilina was detected and determined, and Cicero for his constancie, courage, & watchfulnesse, in suppressing the scalefire of that warre to the vtmost cinder, was intitled by the name of Pater patriæ, the father of his countrey. But before I enter into the dis-  
course of his rebellion, I must make knowne the person of the traytor, and the cause of the treason. L. Sergius Catilina was in face and feature comely and absolute, in wit prompt and pregnant, in eloquence sweet and delightfull, in pompe and maiestie princely and regall, in courtly behauisour quaint and delicate: and to set vpon this gold a Diamond, of a most noble parentage. There were certaine

Cicero cal-  
led Pater  
patriæ.

Catilina his  
qualities.

families amongst the Romanes, which sur-  
mounted & ouerheaded the rest, being most  
auncient and of a worthe originall, and they  
are parted into two discents, some of them  
hauing the Aborigines to their auncestours,  
and some the Troianes. The first and princi-  
pall of the race of the Aborigines, was the fa-  
milie of the Vitellij, being discended frō Fau-  
nus the king of the Aborigines, which did in-  
habite Italie before the comming of Æneas,  
and Queen Vitellia, which in many places  
was worshipped as a goddesse: the secōd was  
the familie of the Fabij, whose offspring is  
rightly deriued from Fabius the son of Her-  
cules: the third was the lineage of the Anto-  
nij, issuing from Anton an other of Hercules  
his sonnes: the fourth was the race of the Po-  
titij, so named of Potitius, who did with great  
curtesie entertaine Hercules, when he was  
entred Italie: the fist was the house of the Ma-  
milij, borne of Mamilia the daughter of Tele-  
gonus one of Ulysses his sonnes begotten of  
Circe that notorious enchauntresse: The o-  
ther families which referred their beginning  
to the Troiane roote, were ten in number:

first

first the house of the Iulij, who descended frō  
Iulus the sonne of Æneas: the second the Æ-  
milij, who tooke their name of Æmilius the  
sonne of Ascanius a Troiane, & of that house  
was the matchlesse Scipio, sonne to Paulus  
Æmilius, who being the Romane Generall  
destroyed Carthage. The third the Nautij of  
Nautes one of Æneas his companions: for  
when Diomedes hauing stolen the image of  
Pallas, did perceiue that it was of no vse to  
him, after the destruction of Troy he offered  
it as a present to Æneas passing by his king-  
dome, but as Æneas doing then sacrifice was  
turning himselfe, Nautes did lay hold of the  
image, & by that meanes did appropriate the  
vse of it to himselfe, so that the Nautij and not  
the Iulij did enioy the mysteries of Minerua:  
the fourth the Cloælij of Cloælitus an other of  
Æneas his companions: the fist the Junij of Iu-  
nus an other of his associates: the sixt the Ser-  
gij of Sergestus one of the Troiane captaines,  
of which familie was L. Sergius Catilina, and  
before him none of that name was euer taint-  
ed with any fauour of rebellion: The seuenth  
the Memij of Mucsteus, an other of the Tro-  
iane captaines

The linage  
of Catilina.

Catiline kil-  
leth his own  
sonne.

ianetraucllers, the eight the Cloantij of Cloanthus a bird of the same fether, the ninth the Giganij or the Gianij of the Troiane Gias, the tenth the Cæciliij of Sæculus a Troiane also who built Preneste. Catiline being adorned with the nobilitie aboue described, made himselfe through his vices and misdemeanour ignoble and odious: his life was the picture of licentiousnesse: to women he was so lewdly affectionate, that euery curtizane of Rome layed claime vnto him. And to marie Aurelia Orestilla into a vacant house, he committed the shamefull murder of his owne and onely child: for two things he promised her, and performed for her, which were tokens of a merciless heart, the balefull death of his son, and the chaunge of the state, in such sort that Aurelia Orestilla should be the Dictatress of Rome. And for the performance he bound himselfe by a cursed circumstance, drinking mans bloud to fill his bloudthirstie humour. In al his actions he was a perfect Protean, framing and composing himselfe to all sides and sects: with the grauer sort of men he would be sad and seuerest: with the riotous, prodigall & excessiue:

excessiue: with chaste matrons modest and buxome: with light hufwiues wanton and vaine: with young gentlemen pleasant and actiue: with auncient fathers demure and delibera-  
tive: to the baser sort curteous and pitifull: to the nobler persons sociable and gratefull: so variable & discoulored he was in his doings, that M. Cicero did greatly maruell at his manifold dexteritie. The first sparks of Catilines conspiracie began to blaze and appeare, L. Tullus, M. Lepidus being Consuls, sixe hundred eightie & seuen yeres after the building of Rome. At that time was Catiline greatly indebted, & because he could not discharge the summe within the time appointed and limited by lawe, nor bring in an estimate or valuation of his goods, whereby it might appeare that he was able to defray the debt, he was forbidden to make sute for the Consulship, whereupon being stirred by a reuengefull wrath, he sought by all meanes possible to execute his iniurious intent. There was at that time in Romē Cn. Piso, a man of desperate boldnesse, poore and yet presumptuous, Catiline did open and impart his meaning to

Catiline  
greatly in-  
debted.

Catiline for-  
bidden to  
make sute  
for the Con-  
sulship.

him and Publ: Antonius; and they three determined to kill the Consuls, which were made the next year after Catilines repulse. The inquisition of this matter was deferred till it came to greater ripenessse. Afterward they intended the death of the most part of the Senators: the time was appointed when their complices and confederates, abettors, and assistants should meet in armour: but because Catiline perceived that the number of these rebellious souldiers was not yet sufficient to give onset to the citie, he withdrew his hand for a time, and dismissed the armie. But a yeaer after M. Cicero, and C. Antonius having entred the Consulship, Catiline being now also disgraced with another repulse, recollected into his seditious braine his auncient plots and former villanies: then he conspired with P. Lentulus & C. Cethegus Praetors to worke the death of the Consuls, to slay the Senate, to burne the citie; and to alter the state: and for this purpose they did by letters inuite to this horrible massacre many Romanes that were employed in forraine service. This being apparantly evident, & dangers

gers being now at the doore, and in a readinesse to pierce into the citie, vnlesse some mature aduise were presently taken, a Senate was appointed in the temple of Iupiter Stator, vnto which place shamelesse Catiline, imagining that he might bleare their eyes by a pretended purgation resorted also; and with an unchaunged countenance shrowded vnder the habite of a Senator, the heart of a serpent. And because the method of this historie may seeme in this place to require some description of the Senatorie state, I will briefly set downe the constant and perpetuall order of the Romanes in going to their Senate house, though I cannot counteruiale with æquall termes; nor with a perfect discourse the great maiestie and pompe, that in this reverend solemnite was obserued. The first place in the proceeding to their Senate had the Dictator, (when that office was in esse) the next the Consuls, the third the Praetors: the Dictator was therefore preferred because his power was supreme, and was not subiect to the contrall of any other, the Consuls were in the second place, because they were in præhemi-

nence next to the Dictator, and all the decrees of the Senate were ratified by the same bearing date according to the dignitie of their persons: their triumphs also were signed with the same marke: such a triumph was said to be done, such an one being the second time Consull, and such an one being the third time Cōsul, according as their aduancement was: In the third rancke of these greater Magistrates were the Prætors, because they had authoritie to call a Senate as the Dictator & the Consuls had, which was not permitted to the inferiour magistrates: they had also iurisdiction to examine any matter that was done within the hundred stome, after the vulgar supputation, within an hundred miles of the citie of Rome on euery side: Before the Dictator went twelue Lictors or Sergeants, who at the bidding of the Dictator and Consuls did arrest offenders, and commaunded strangers that met them in signe of reurence to light from their horses, they caried in their hands an ensigne of terror, a double poleaxe emuironed wirth a bundle of rods: The Dictator was caried in a chaire of estate, being clad

with

with a purple gowne, edged with a crimson border, and inuested with a robe triumphall, which were the ornaments of the auncient kings of Rome: the same attire had the Consuls and Prætors, but the Prætors did weare a siluer coloured garment, and did alwaies ride vpon milke white horses: after these the next place had the Cœfors, if there were any at that time, for they were in the number of principall magistrates, their office being not of perpetuitie, no more then the Dictatorship: After these being the mote worthie potentates, the inferiour sort of the authorized persons did immediatly follow. The first of that order were the Aediles of the chaire, because they were conueyed to the senatehouse in a chaire of syuorie, which monument of honour, as it seemeth was permitted vnto them, because in auncient times they were trusted and adornd with the entire regimēt of the citie: these were created of the bodie of the Senate: next to them succeeded the Aediles of the people, which were raised to that dignitie from the roote of the people: after the Aediles followed they which had borne office, though they

N 2

920 CLOTHO, ORATION  
were not charged with any office that present  
yeare. All of them severally marshalled accord  
ding to the worthinesse of their calling; the  
Consulians, the Praetorianis, the Aedililians;  
the last place had the Senators, which had not  
yerborne office. The number of them all in  
such an assemblie did some time attioun to  
the number of sixe hundred all of them, these  
only excepted who were borne in chaires of  
estate, riding on faire pampered horses, and  
long trailli'd gownes, the skirts of which were  
circumscribed with these words, Senatus, po  
pulus, Romanus. V Vhich the Senators were  
placed; and euery onie began to expect what  
should be spoken agaist the rebellious con  
federates, M. Cicero aiming at Catiline with  
his eyes, did thus pierce him with his tongue,  
& with this in due tyme reprooued his maners.

Was there euer scene so great and mort  
alious impudencie, graue fathers and worthie  
Senators, that a dissolute and disorderly re  
belia professor of prodigalitie and vnhirfis  
nesse, a maineainer of theues, barretors and  
seditious slaughterers, a proclaimed enimie  
to temperance, justice, chasteitie, & the whole  
synode

THE 22 YRS OF CLOTHO, BOOK 2. 93  
synode of the saudrey vertues, a man on ita  
ther a monstigne of many compailes of tricks & v  
vanlies, shold dare to minis to staine this  
sacred presence with his prophylatic person, & though  
thoug he vndisprise against vs, yet amongst  
us to consult. Hoi consult (said he) may to ought  
ceale his trecherie. V Vhat shold he iay do  
amongst swans or the owle amongst nightin  
gales, or the vultur amongst amongst houes,  
or Catiline amogst Catones, to wchardread  
the thundor bolt when we see the lightening  
and can we loue the traytor when we loath  
histroon? Caust thou to dissimble, Chilijie,  
that we may more discerne thy doings? Nay,  
there is no deed of thine, no drift, nor devise,  
which I haue not heard, nay almost seeke, nay  
almost felt. Here, here they be in this our as  
semblie (worthie Senators) in this most graue  
and solemne councell of the world, which  
muse continually of our death, of the downe  
fall of Rome, and this desolation of Italie. But  
thou yet liuest Catiline, and yet thou liuest  
not to abate, but to abet thy pride. V Vhat ya  
nitie hath bene at any time absent from thine  
eyes & what villanie from thine hands? what

president of vice from thy person? what young  
 gentlema hath there bene a long time in this  
 citie, wholme, if he were once corrupted by  
 the deceitfull baits of thy false entisements;  
 thou didst not animate and incire either to  
 desperate attempts, by carrying the sword be-  
 fore him, or to effeminate examples by bear-  
 ing the torch before him, and yet thou ima-  
 ginest that thy doings are not misliked. Of  
 thee Catilina when the Romane keepes sic  
 hence they pronouche sentence, when they  
 suffer thy misdeedes they condene them,  
 when they are at rest with themselues, they  
 are at deadly warre with thee. But why am I  
 so earnest against thee? Is it possible that any  
 thing shold amend thee? may it be hoped for  
 that thou wilt reforme thy false, that thou wilt  
 shake off these faults? that thou wilt banish  
 these enormities? Thou art not of so good &  
 vertuous inclination, that honestie may re-  
 claime thee from whoredome, feare from vn-  
 iustice, and reason from outrage: to this mad-  
 ness nature hath framed thee, frowardnesse  
 hath exercised thee, and destinie hath refer-  
 red thee, and for these deformities of thy na-  
 ture

sure thou hast bene more feared then trusted, &  
 and indecde more wily, then we haue here-  
 tofore heare watchfull. But at length noble  
 Senators, L. Catilina entaged with boldnesse,  
 breathing out bloudshed, preparing in most  
 hainous manier a scourge for his countrie,  
 threatening to this citie fite and sword, is suffi-  
 ciently knowne and abundantly hated. No  
 plague can now be inuented of that monster  
 and horror of men within this citie against  
 this citie, but in that he hath not drawne his  
 bloudie sword out of our naked bodies, in  
 that he hath left vs aliuie, in that we haue wre-  
 sted the weapon from his butcherous hands,  
 in that the citizens be safe, & the citie sedurc,  
 can ye conjecture with what a bitter agonie,  
 and anguish of mind he is vexed: and if he be-  
 ginne hereafter to renew his furie, take cou-  
 rage my Lords, and leade ouv against his bro-  
 ken and outcast band, the flower and the po-  
 wer of all Italie, and consider with what foes  
 we deale, which surfeiting in banquets, ent-  
 bracing harlots, stuffed with meat, faint with  
 wine, adorned with garlands, soupled with  
 ointments, yweakned by wantons, cast from  
 (contd)

“then contagious mouthes the flauder of the  
“venerous, buer whome I do hope there han-  
“gels some hearie destrie: and that the pu-  
“nishment of their bery bery long time due to  
“their wicked lust and licentiousnesse, is either  
“now imminent or new approaching: whom if  
“my Countrieship do obaunce to quelle because  
“we cannot dure, it shall not procure ashort sur-  
“shone of peace to the common weale, but  
“whole ages and worlds of tranquilitie: that  
“which may be healed by any meane sil will  
“cure by some meane: that which must needs  
“be cut off must needs be cut off, therefore let  
“them either leaue the citie, or leaue their tu-  
“mult, or if they will stay bothe in this citie and  
“in this mind, let them looke for their deserte,  
“and assure themselves of the full measure of  
“reuenge; but if in stewes and rauernies they  
“sought onely beliuing and baudrie, they were  
“more to be spared, but yet wholly to be dis-  
“paied of: but who can tollerate that cowards  
“should determine trecherie against the cou-  
“tagious, wild braines against them, that be  
“wise, fottish drunkards against sober Senators  
“and sluggish drones against carefull magi-  
“strates?

strates? These men building like gods vpon „  
the earth, as if their houses should be hea- „  
tens, whilst they take their pleasure in sump- „  
tuous coaches, great familiess, costly ban- „  
quets, rich attire, and in the lewd companie „  
of lasciuious curtizanes, are fallen into such a „  
gulfe of debt, that if they would be free from „  
it, Sylla is to be raised from the dead. But they „  
shall soone perceiue, if they still persist in their „  
naughtinesse, that there are in this citie, vigi- „  
lant Corsuls, politicke gouernours, a puissant „  
Senate, that we haue weapons, that we haue a „  
prison, which our auncestors haue made a re- „  
uenger of hainous and manifest faults. And „  
now sith you are deliuered through my care „  
and industrie from a swelling cloud of terrors, „  
without battell, without bloudshed, without „  
armie, without fighting. For this so great be- „  
nefite noble Senators, I require of you no re- „  
ward of vertue, no ensigne of honour, no mo- „  
nument of praise, but an eternall record of „  
this very time: I desire that all my deserts, all „  
the ornaments of my person, the fruits of my „  
glorie, and the good aestimation of my dili- „  
gence, should be registered and enrolled in „

“in your memories. No mutenesse, no silence, “no secret whispering can delight me, by your “remembrance worthie Senators mine actes “& exploits shall be nourished, by your words “they shall grow, by your writings they shall “not onely receiue life but æternitie.

Catiline his  
impudent  
answer to  
Cicero.

Catiline hauing all this while itching eares, but a more itching toungh, made in disorderly manner this disdainfull reply : I haue a long time maruelled and now with astonishment do wonder (ye noble Lords and ancient pro- genie of kings) for as to the rest I will not bed my selfe to them but against them, that with so patient eare, and minds impassionate, ye can digest the cholericke railings of this rhe- toricall parot, whome since we first promoted from the pearch to the pinacle, from the bar to the bench, from the ground whereon we go, to the tribunall whereon we sit, the Senate sursetting long ago on his rude and vnmaner- ly speeches, is now constrained to make a diet of a disease: vpon me as ye haue plainly per- ceiued, he hath spent the whole chest of his gall, who am as free from the crimes inten- ded, as he is farre from the vertues which he

ascribeth

ascribeth to you. He thought perhaps (what „ wickednesse I pray you hath he not thought) „ to blow me out of the gates of the citie, by the „ venomous aire of his imposened lungs, but „ maugre his malicious throat. I stand before „ his lowring face, to the abashment of his fro- „ zen forehead, and the confusion of his ill spea- „ king eloquence, as one irreprocable, being „ like a cage of chrystall, vpon which the more „ poyson is cast, the more eleare it doth seeme, „ I am not made (Consul Marcus) of so fleeting „ and brittle mould, that the gnashing of thy „ teeth should either fray me or fret me: but if „ I were guiltie of the faults alleadged, why was „ I not impeached of them before thy Consul- „ ship, but vnder the triumph of thy tearmes „ must suffer this intollerable iniurie? Catiline „ is an Epicure forsooth, because Cicero is a „ Stoicke, Catiline is wanton, because Cicero „ is iealous, Catiline is lawlesse, because Cice- „ roes will must be a lawe to him: Catiline is „ prodigall, because he hath not bestowed any „ bribes vpon Cicero: Catiline is rebellious, „ because Cicero is fearefull and timerous: Ca- „ tiline is an enemie to the common-weale, „

O 2.

“because he is not friend to Ciceroes priuate  
 “pollicie: mightie accusations and vnanswera-  
 “ble! Hath he not drawne bloud (trow you) of  
 “Catilines credit? It grieueth me workhie Se-  
 “nators, and trust me, it grieueth mine heart,  
 “that the hope of the Romane youth, and the  
 “sweet societie of gallant gentlemen your  
 “selues atteding, bearing, & forbearing, should  
 “by the spawne of a ragge be so hainously dis-  
 “graced: as for his distempered declamation  
 “it is no noueltie with vs my Lords, for it is the  
 “ysuall methode of his mercenare young, vpo  
 “poore and pitifull presumptions, to hazard  
 “the life and soule of his clients cause. But what  
 “madnesse is it for one that is lately crept into  
 “the citie to talke of antiquities, taking mat-  
 “ters in hand which are elder then his memo-  
 “rie, which were forgotten and dead before he  
 “was begotten and borne? Thou art not aunc-  
 “ient enough Cicero to speake of our aunce-  
 “stors, nor worthie enough to talk of our wor-  
 “thies, thou art as a pilgrime in this citie, thou  
 “art ignorant of the orders and customes ther-  
 “of, thou seemest to wander in another coun-  
 “trie, and not to beare office in the Metropolis

of

of Italie: thou threatnest vs with extremities, “  
 and layest on load with imprisonments, as if, “  
 our bodies should be anuils to thine hatred; “  
 but suffer not my sweet, mild and curteous, “  
 magistrates of Rome, that vpon Ciceroes, “  
 suggestion we should endure such reproch: “  
 the ignominie of arraignment is miserabile, “  
 the arresting of guiltlesse men is lamentable, “  
 banishment is uncomfortable, but the rack- “  
 ing, rowling, tearing and tormenting of men, “  
 far be it not only fro the bodie of a Romane, “  
 but euen from his thoughts, from his eyes, “  
 from his eares. For mine own part I confesse, “  
 and professe, and pretend, that Catiline li- “  
 ueth not to please, but to displease and dis- “  
 place M. Cicero, of whome when I speake, I, “  
 speake of tyrannie, of villanie, of basenesse, “  
 and assure thy selfe Cicero, that either the law, “  
 of Rome, or the lawe of reason shall be my, “  
 warrant in this case, and to them that be dis- “  
 contented in this citie, thy fall will be a ge- “  
 nerall satisfaction.

Catiline departed out of the senate house  
 continuing his furie, and because danger was  
 feared, it was thought good that the Senate

should be dismissed in the night time. Catiline went with a slender gard to the tents of Manlius, Lentulus, Cethegus, and diuerse others that were priuie to the conspiracie, and did as yet remaine in the citie, were arrested and imprisoned, and being conuicted by manifeste evidence, were presently put to death. The day wherein the punishment of these traitors was decreed, did greatly illustrate & beautifie the worthinesse of M. Cato. He descended from M. Cato the Prince of the Portiā familie, after whomē this Cato in degree of discent was accompted and numbred in the third place. This M. Cato was of all the Romanes most sincere, and most like to vertue it selfe, and seemed in his iustice and integritie to be nearer to God then to man, who did not liue honestly & orderly because he would seeme to be vertuous, but because it was against the course of his disposition to be dishonest and disorderly, thinking that onely to be reasonable, which was iust and lawfull: he was free from fancies, and had alwaies fortune in his owne power: he was then Tribune of the people, young in respect of his yeares,

but

The lineage  
of M. Cato.

The praise  
of M. Cato.

but in wisedome and aduise a fathir, & a right Senator, who ( when others perswaded that the conspirators should be kept aliue in seuerall wards) being the last of them that sentenced the rebellious, did inueigh with such force of mind and wit against the conspirators, that by the vehemensie of his speech he cancelled their opinions, which perswaded lenitie, and made their softnesse to be suspected: and the greater part of the Senate in fauour of Catoes gracious seueritie, did accompane him to his house. C. Cæsar did at that time giue some token of a rebellious humor, whereof Rome tasted afterward too much, & himselfe in the end was poisoned with the dregs. Catiline hearing what was done at Rome, gathered an armie, and making a laborious iourney through the steepe and cragie hills, intended a voyage into that part of Fraunce, which is beyond the Alpes: which Q. Metellus perciuing, who was leader of three bands of soldiers in the Picē prouince, he remooued his tents and pitched them at the bottome of the Pistorian heath, frō which place the armie of C. Antonius was not farre.

C. Cæsar inclined to sedition.

Catiline when he saw that he was on every side embayed with mountaines & armed me, chose rather to fight with Antonius, who committed the vantgard to the conduct of M. Petreius. Catiline in that battell gaue a sharpe onset, and continued the fight with an vndaunted stomacke, but in the end was slaine, and dying with great indignation, was there trampled to death by the hoofes of horses. Thus he that did defend himself in the Senate house, was confounded in the field, and that by the iustice of destinie, who with a scourge of steele followeth proud aspirers: this inflent Romane perceiued at the time of his death the deceitfull glose of his fawning fancie, & the vaine sophistrie of bewitching ambition.

LA-

## LACHESIS,

*Or the second Booke.*


N. Pompeius for his great valor & magnanimitie iustly intitled Magnus, did in course of time grow to an exceeding greatness of authoritie, and had purchased through his worthie exploits, the loue, applause and admiration of the whole world, his father was Cn. Pompeius an approued soldier, and a Consularian, his Mother was Lucilia a Senators daughter: he was of a comely personage, not so commendable for beautie, as for a pleasing and constant complection, which continued euen to his last houre, his wisedome was of a wonderfull excellencie, his life in all parts absolute, his eloquence but indifferent, he was desirous to haue honour offred, but was not ambitious to vsurpe it, a fast friend & a religious obseruer of his word,

P

in reconciling me that were at variance most faithfull, in receiuing satisfaction for offences most easie, neuer vsing his power to impotencie, nor his wit to vanitie, from his cradle a souldier, in his youth a conqueror triumphant, and in all his warres courageous and dreadfull. For though Sertorius did more commend Metellus, yet he was more afraid of Pompey. And of the Spaniards he triumphed when he was but a Romane knight, not having as yet borne any office of estate. To be a knight of Rome was so much better then to be a common gentleman, by how much a patritian Senator was more honorable then a nouitian, whose auncestours were neuer of the Senate. And Pompey by degrees did endeuour to aduance his credit, and in the end by the conquest of many & mightie nations, became peereles. Mithridates his power was enfeebled by Sylla, disiointed by Lucullus, & broken in peeces by Pompey, after which victorie he subdued the lewes, tooke their citie, and possess the temple of Ierusalem, a rare and miraculous monument, which though he filled with his souldiers, yet he restrained the from

Sertorius  
feareth Po-  
pey.

Mithridates  
ouerthrown  
by Pompey.  
Pompey en-  
tered the re-  
plic of Ieru-  
salem.

from the spoile. In that warre he partly reconuered, and partly subdued to the Romane power, Armenia, Colchis, Cappadocia, Cilicia, Syria, and all the region of Palestine to theriuer of Euphrates. He ouercame beside Paphlagonia, Galatia, Phrigia, Mysia, Lydia, Caria, Ionia, and all that part of Asia which lyeth about Pergamus. He committed the reginment of Armenia maior to Tigranes, the Island of Bosphorus to Pharnaces, Cappadocia to Arioberzanes, Seleucia to Antiochus Commagenus: to Deiotarus and other Te|trakes Galatia with Armenia minor, to Attalus and Pylæmenes Paphlagonia, to Aristarchus Colchis, to Hircane Palestine. And for a triple reward of these his victories, he had the blazon of three triumphs: the first was of Affricke, the second of Europa, and the third of Asia. After these triumphs ensued the Consulship of Marcus Bibulus and C. Cæsar, issuing from the famous familie of the Iulij, and conueyng his discent from Anchises the Troiane father to Æneas: he was of excellent beautie, and in vigor of mind most sharpe and vehement, in his rewards boun-
|  |

Pompey hon-  
ored with a  
triple tri-  
umph.

Cæsar his o-  
riginall.

Cæsars  
death sought  
for by Sillaes  
officers.

full, in courage farre aboue mans nature, or mans beliefe, in the haughtinesse of his thoughts, in the celeritte of his fight, in the suffering of bitter euents and casualties singular, in all his actions most like to Alexander the great, to Alexander I meane being sober, and neither surcharged with wine, nor overcome with wrath, vsing sleepe and meate not for the pampering of his lust, but for the continuing of his life. He was neare in bloud to C. Marius, and was Cinnaes sonne in lawe, neither during Syllaes Dictatorship could he by any means be moued to diuorce Cinnaes daughter, though M. Piso a Consularian, did for feare of Sylla funder himselfe from Annia Cinnaes widow, by which constancie Cæsar did greatly endaunger himselfe; for his death was sought for by Syllaes officers, Sylla himselfe being ignorant of their purpose. Cæsar being made Consul, a league of soueraigne societie was concluded betwixt him and Cn. Pompeius, & M. Crassus. Pompey did therefore enter into that league, because he would haue his acts and deedes, which he had made in the prouinces before mentioned, that were conquered

conquered by him, fully confirmed and ratified by the Senate. Cæsar by taking that course had a double intent, to increase his owne honour by yeelding to Pompeis glory, and to establish his owne authoritie by charging him with the hatred of this treuirall power. Crassus had this drift to maintaine & preserue the estimation which he had alreadie obtained by the power of Cæsar, and the authoritie of Pompey. There was also an affinitie contracted by marriage betwixt Cæsar and Pompey: for Pompey tooke to wife Iulia Cæsars daughter. Cæsar had the regiment of Fraunce committed to him by the Senate, after whose Consulship ended, and before his departure into Fraunce, P. Clodius Tribune of the people began to giue new edge vnto quarrels, and did with maine force bend him selfe against Cicero. For what agreement could there be betwixt them, when their maners did so farre disagree? The head of dissenction was cut off when Catiline was slaine, the bodie also was mangled when his confederates were put to death, but the serpents taile did as yet mooue: for Clodius did seeke by all

Pompey  
married  
with Iulia  
Cæsars  
daughter.

Clodius  
Tribune of  
the people  
becommeth  
feditious.

Clodius see-  
keth to re-  
uenge him.  
selfe vpon  
Cicero.

Clodius in-  
famous for  
adulterie  
with Pom-  
peia Cæsars  
wife.

Clodius in-  
famous for  
incest with  
his sisters.

Clodius cō-  
demned by  
Senate.

meane is possible, to take reuenge on Cicero for the sharp seueritie vsed against his friends which were of Catilines seed-plot, and of that seditious league. But it was to be wondred at, that a man conuicted of so notorious and hainous crimes, durst proceede to such impudencie as to attempt the disgrace of M. Cicero, or any way to disturbe his quietnesse. At that time Clodius was infamous for his adulterie with Pompeya Cæsars wife, which amiddest the most religious & solemne rites of Bona Dea, this vnchaste Tribune committed: and these ceremonies, which it was not lawfull for any man to behold, Clodius in womans attire did pollute. But he was the author of greater lewdnesse then this, when with his owne sisters he became incestuous, two of them being his sisters german, and married to two worthie Romanes, the one of them to Q. Metellus, and the other to L. Lucullus, the third was his sister by the halfe blood, the wife of Q. Martius. For these and other his faults, he was condemned by the seuerall censures of two hundred Scrittors at one Session, and this notwithstanding was absolued: so that I

do

do greatly doubt, whether the Consuls that did absoluē him, or Clodius that was absoluē, did more deserue punishment; for by that meane such a window of impunitie was then opened, as could not be shut in the space of many yeares ensuing. But Clodius because he was Tribune, and because he was Clodius, did thynke all time lost wherein Cicero was safe. He was then in great fauour both with the people and Consuls: for when any commoditie was sought for by the Consuls, which could not be prejudiciale to the people, he would labour earnestly for the Consuls, and when the people would haue had any benefite which did not concerne the Consuls, he was wholly for the people: so that by displeasing neither, he pleased them both. Vpon this ground he aduentured to make lawes, amōgst which one was enacted against thē who had put a Romane citizen to death without the iudgement of the people of Rome, which lawe though it ranne in generall termes, yet in sence and meaning it was directly leuelled against Cicero, who in his Consulship had by Senate condemned the confederates of Ca-

tiline. Cicero perceiving this did clad him selfe with mourning roabes, the Senators also were attired with blacke, as the associates of his sorrow, the Romane knights did weare his colour, the inconsolable citie did droope and deplore his state, and the forreiners that heard thereof did enlarge the grieve. For the redressing of this maladie meanes were made to Crassus, Cæsar, and Pompey. But Cæsar denied to stand against Clodius, because he feared that the lawes and decrees made by him the yeare next before when he was Consul should be disanulled and abrogated by Clodius if he maintained hatred against him. M. Crassus was monies weathercocke, and an hungrie cormorant of coyne, and therefore refused to meddle in this matter, because they that craved the assistance of his authoritie, came not to him with golden faces: only Pompey did helpe, countenance, & comfort him, and protested openly that himselfe would rather be slaine by Clodius, then Cicero shold be abused: but the Consuls commanding the Senators and others to lay aside their mournfull sable, did so firmly lincke themselves to

Clodius,

Clodius, both against Cicero and Pompey, that neither could Pompey profite him, neither would Cicero stay in the citie. For how could he expect any better successe, L. Piso & A. Gabinius being Consuls, men of notorious naughtiness, and raked out of the scum of Senators? VVherefore Cicero left the city, Cicero comm.  
intecethim-  
selfe to vo-  
luntarie  
exile. and in the very day of his departure, his house that stooede on mount Palatine was burnt by Clodius, and the soile was consecrated to Libertie: his goods were confiscated, his lordships and farmes bestowed vpon others: there was a lawe also made touching his banishment, wherby it was prohibited that he shold not haue the vse of water and fire within the citie, that none within fие hundred miles of A sharpe law  
made con-  
cerning Ci-  
cero his ba-  
nishment. Italie should receiue him into his house, that none shold make any motion for him to the Senate, that none shold deliuer his opinion of Cicero, that none shold dispute of that which was done, that none shold speake of it, that none shold go vnto him, that none shold write vnto him. But in the end Cn. Pompeius hauing yndertaken emnitie with Clodius, being vrged by the earnest petition

Q

Cicero re-  
called from  
banishment.

Clodius per-  
sisteth to be  
an enemy  
to Cicero.

Clodius bur-  
neth the  
house of Q.  
Cicero.

of Titus Annius Milo, and moued by the abundant kindnesse of his heroicall nature, did in his mind make speciall election of this care to reduce Cicero from banishment. VVherefore the yeare next ensuing, P. Lentulus and Q. Metellus being Consuls, Cicero by a Senatorie decree was recalled from banishment with the great desire of the Senate, and the great reioycing of Italie. The ground whereon his house stooode, was exempted from religious consecration, and his house was not so shamefully throwne downe by Clodius, as it was sumptuously reedified by the Senate, his possessions were restored vnto him, and all the acts which Clodius made in his Tribune-ship were adiudged to be void. Clodius did greatly indigneate at the returne of Cicero, & hauing aggregated vnto him a rascall rout of thirtiesse and vncioncional ruffians, he partly draue away, and did partly maime and murder the carpenters and workmen, that were busied about the renewing of Ciceros house, he burnt beside the house of Q. Cicero, he fought with Milo many times in the streets: he pursued Cicero with stones, clubs,

and

and swords, & arming all his men with brads, offire in the one hand, and swords in the other, led them to the burning of Miloes house: but this tempest and trouble of the citie, who did bestow kingdomes and take them away, and deuided the world at his pleasure, which burnt the temple of the Nymphes, that he might scorch the rowle in which his shame was enregistred, which with masons, architektes, and measurers of ground did suruey almost euery close and plot that lay neare vnto him, hoping in the end to make it his own purchase, and to dilate and extend his de-measnes from the gate of Ianus to the top of the Alpes: which threatened death to Sanctia a matron, as holy in her maniers as in her name, and to Apronius a young gentleman, vntesse they would sell vnto him their inheritance: who told Furfonius in plaine termes, that if he would not lend him so much mony as he required, he would carie him dead into his houle. This enemy I say to all good men, to his neighbors, to forreyners, to his friends, to his kinsmen, was shortly after slaine by Milo, for whose death he did lye in awaite, and

Clodius  
threateneth  
death to  
Sanctia.

Clodius is  
slaine by  
Milo.

his bodie being conueyed to Rome was los-  
tied of the beholders, for it was the harbour  
of a soule ostridge.

Cæsar was now in hot warres against the  
French, of whose exploits as they did happē  
in nine yeares space, whilst he was President  
there by the commission of the Senate, I will  
make a briefe rchearsall as the times did yeeld  
them.

The Helue-  
tians flye be-  
fore Cæsar.

In the first yeare the Heluetians, when  
Cæsar had scarcely set foote in France, burnt  
their houses, and leauing their countrie dis-  
persed themselues in the fields of the Sequa-  
ni, and so came to the coast of the Tolossians.

Cæsar perceiving that their abode in that  
place would be dangerous to the citie of To-  
lossa, and being earnestly intreated by the  
petition of the Ambarrians and the Allobro-  
ges, who did complaine themselues to be  
greatly vexed and disturbed by the Heluetians,  
remoouing his tents and hauing ouerta-  
ken them at the riuere of Arraris destroyed in  
pursuite all the villages of the Tigurines. Cæ-  
sars horsemen which were sent before to ob-  
serue what waies and pathes the Heluetians  
did

did take, were by them discomfited. After-  
ward they gaue battell to Cæsar, and in that  
battell they were ouercome, and yeelding  
themselues to Cæsars mercie, they were en-  
ioyned to resort to their owne countrie, and  
there to repaire their houses. Then Cæsar be-  
ing mooued by the complaint of certaine  
Frenchmē address against Ariouista the king  
of the Germaines, whome he did pursue in  
battell to the riuere of Rhenus.

The Helue-  
tians ouer-  
come by  
Cæsar.

Cæsar pur-  
sueh batell  
against Ari-  
ouista.

In the second yeare he waged battell a-  
gainst the Belgians, the most of which were  
slaine. The like successe had he against the  
Neruians.

Cæsar fig-  
heth against  
the Belgians  
& Neruians.

In the third yeare fighting on the sea a-  
gainst the Venetians, he caused thē to yeeld:  
and P. Crassus his Lieutenant did subdue al-  
most all the countrie of Aquitania.

In the fourth yeare the Germaines passing  
with a great multitude ouer the riuero of Rhine  
arriued in Fraunce, whom Cæsar assaulting  
on the sudden did vtterly destroy: then he  
made a bridge ouer Rhenus, and determined  
to vexe and exagitate the Germaines in their  
owne countrie, because France was so much

Cæsar ouer-  
threw the  
Germaines.

*Cæsar bur-  
neth the vil-  
lages of the  
Sicambrians*

*Cæsar over-  
commeth  
the Britains*

*Cæsar recō-  
ciled to the  
Britaines.*

disquieted and molested by them, & hauing burnt there many cities and villages of the Sicambrians, being also certified that the Britanes did minister succour, and gaue encouragement to the conspiracies of the French, he sayled into Britaine, and constrained the Britanes by sharpe onset to yeeld vnto him. Cæsars nauie that transported his horse, was shrewdly shaken with a tempest, wherewith the Britaines being reviued betooke them selues againe to weapons, and fighting with Cæsar were put to flight: at length they sued to Cæsar for peace, which, he taking hostage of them did easily graunt, and returned into Fraunce, and the same yeare the Morines & Menapias rebelling he reduced to obediēce.

*Cæsar renu-  
eth his war  
against the  
Britaines.*

In the fift yeare Cæsar returning from Illyrium, to which place he went for the stopping and beating backe of an incursion made by the Pirustæ, came to his armie in Fraunce, and addressed warre afresh against the Britaines hauing broken truce, and enioying there a prosperous fight, a great multitude of the inhabitants being slaine, and a great part of the Island brought into the power of the

Romanes,

Romanes, taking hostages, and imposing tribute he set saile for Fraunce.

In the sixt yeare the Eburons did rebell against Cæsar, Ambiorix being their king and Captaine, whō in many places Cæsar fiercely and feruently pursuing, put to the sword and dispersed the remnāt of that rebellious company.

*The Ebu-  
rons over-  
come by Cæ-  
sar.*

In the seventh yeare Cæsar went into Italy, vpon occasion of a mutinie which there did befall. The French thinking that he would be detained by domesticall warre, and that it would be hard for him to returne to his armie during that dissention, began now to take aduise of renewing warre against the Romanes. The Carnutians professing that they would be leaders to that attempt bound others vnto them by oath, and hauing appointed a day they repaired to Genabis, where many of the Romanes did negociate, & were earnestly occupied and busied about their traſique & merchandise, all which were slaine by the French, which massacre being certainly reported at Aruernum and other parts of Fraunce, the Pietons, the Parisians, the Ca-

*Treacherie  
against the  
Romanes in  
Fraunce.*

durcians, the Turcus, the Au'erci, the Lemones, the Audians did ioyne in armour and did confederate with the Carnutians. Cæsar hearing of this new enterprise made speedie returne into Fraunce, and hauing placed seuerall garrisons in the cities of the Volscians, of the Artonikes, of the Tolossians, & in Narbo, which were nearest vnto the enemies, he tooke Vellannodunum the citie of the Senones, & Genabis the chiefe towne of the Carnutians, which he spoiled and burnt, and many other townes did he take, and seised vpon many of the rebels, receiuing some of them into his mercie, & punishing very sharply the most notorious offenders.

In the eight yeare he pursued the Carnutians to their vttermost ouerthrow: the Bellofaci conducted by two valiant captaines Corbius and Comius, were enforced to submit themselues, and Corbius was then slaine by Cæsars horsemen.

In the ninth yeare Cæsar did not enterprise any warlike affaires, but laboured specially to cut off all occasions of reuolting: therfore honorably emparling with the magistrates

Cæsar his  
revenge v-  
pon the re-  
bels.

of the cities: bestowing vpon the gouernors great rewards, and burdening them with no new taxes; he brought Fraunce being wearied by many warres, to a perfect and perpetuall peace, and departed thence to Italie, but was still garded with an armie of souldiers.

In the seventh yeare of Cæsars warfare in Fraunce, Iulia Cæsars daughter departed this world, and Pompeis little sonne which he had by her, within a short space after died also; which was a great cracke to the concord before continued. Pompey had alreadie proroged his Præsidētship in the prouince of Spain for ffeue yeares: but the people of Rome did exceedingly grudge, that either Cæsar or Pompey should in any forraine prouince haue an armie of souldiers at their commaund, sithall warres both forreine and domesticall were ceassed & determined, because they thought by that meane some daunger might grow to the Citie: for Pompey being now in Rome, did rule Spaine by Affranus and Petreius his Lieutenants, hauing in seuerall cities seuerall garrisons, and C. Cæsar had in the bosome of Italie an huge hoast, & had then a garrison

Pompey his  
President-  
ship in Spain  
proroged.

A decree  
made by the  
Senate, that  
Cæsar shold  
dismisse his  
armie.

at Rauenna, where he was personally residen<sup>t</sup>; this did seeme also inconuenient to many of the nobles, and Pompey shewed himselfe ver<sup>y</sup> partiall: for he did fawne vpon them which would haue had Cæsars armie dismissed, but was very aduerte to others who would haue measured him by the same compasse, who if he had died in Campania two yea<sup>rs</sup> before the ciuill warts, where he was greatly assayed by sicknesse, at which time all Italie did make specia<sup>l</sup>lly vowe for his health, his glorie which was gained by sea and land he had caried vntouched to the graue. Upon these considera<sup>t</sup>ions L. Lentulus and C. Marcellus being Consuls, a decree was made by the Senate, that within a time limited Cæsar shold dis<sup>charge</sup> his armie, and if he would not, that he shold be accompted an enemie, for Cæsar wold haue bene made Consul in his absence but M. Cato did well answere, that no citizen ought to præscribe lawes to the common-  
weale: wherefore it was ordained that Cæsar contening himselfe with one legion, shold bear<sup>e</sup> only the title of the Presidēt of France, and that he shold come into the citie as a  
priuate

private man, & in his suite for the Consulship, shold wholly relye vpon the voices of the people. C. Curio an impudent oratour, a man wickedly witted, and eloquent for a publike mischiefe, whose mind no riches could sati<sup>sf</sup>ie, nor any pleasures sufficiently please, who first stood for Pompey (as it was then accompted for the common weale, which I do not speake to reprooue, but that I might not be reprooued) and now was in shew and appa<sup>re</sup>llance both against Pompey and Cæsar, but indeed and mind wholly for Cæsar: this Curio Tribune of the people, posted in hast to Rauenna where Cæsar was, and signified vnto him the order of the Senate, applying his eloquence as a brand to the inflaming of Cæsars furie. Curio came to Cæsar at the entrance of twilight, when the cloud of vapours and exhalations, is by nature disposed to turn men into melancholie, which tooke so deepe hold on Cæsar, that making no answer to Curio, but casting himselfe on his bed he did in this sort expostulate with the Romanes.

Thus is Cæsar measured with a scantling, diected with a paring, and rewarded with no-  
The passio-  
nate speech  
of Cæsar a-  
gainst the  
Senate.

thing Vanish from me thou sad and vgly cō-  
 cubine of Erebus, thou grimine and duskie  
 night, which with thy blacke circumference  
 doest hoodwinke our sences, driving the day  
 from vs before we can flesh our swords, con-  
 tracting our sinewes when they are but new-  
 ly stretched, causing vs to lurke in our cab-  
 bons when we should cleave to the throats of  
 our enemies; vanish I say from me, and delay  
 not with thy lingering minutes my expeditiō  
 against Rome. Against Rome? o the echo of  
 my heart! nay for Rome, against the Ko-  
 manes, amongst whom is Cn. Pompeius Ma-  
 gnus, but not yet Maximus, for he lacketh a  
 degree of that, and before he can attaine to  
 it, there will be effusion of bloud by successiō.  
 But what eareth he for that, was he not one of  
 Syllaes whelpes, whose sword reaking with  
 Italian bloud he so greedily licked, that the  
 taste thereof doth as yet relice in his rauenous  
 and polluted lawes? But learne of Sylla, learn  
 of thy Sylla Pompey, that a tyrant bathing  
 himselfe in goare, shall at length sinke by the  
 weight of his cruelties. VVhat Cæsar hath  
 done, I referre to the Oracle of Bellona, what  
 he

he will do. I leave to the concealed decree of  
 sacred vengeance: what he may do, let the  
 foredoming Parcæ prædestinate: what he  
 ought to do, let warlike justice pronounce.  
 VVas not Pompey made Consul without  
 suing, without seeking, without speaking? and  
 shall I requesting, yea and humbly requesting,  
 suffer a repulse? Fortune thou mightie and  
 miraculous Goddessse, which in a moment  
 doest procure a world of varieties, whetting  
 with thine anger the points of our launces,  
 shaking crownes and kingdomes with the  
 spurne of thy foote, triumphing ouer our vi-  
 ctoires with the speckled wheeles of thy vo-  
 luble chariot, controlling our hope with thy  
 frowning countenance: thou knowest great  
 goddessse, that if Rome hath at any time flou-  
 rished: if it hath at any times tasted the pure  
 and vningled extract of sincere happiness,  
 if it were euer caried on the brode wings of  
 fame, if it did euer swim in a floud of plentie,  
 it was through Cæsar and his fortune, & yet  
 we are now despised, and yet we will not be  
 despised, fortune is able to reuenge the  
 iniurie done to Cæsar, and Cæsar will  
 alwaies fight for the præheminence of his

fortune! Therefore for the honour of Aeneas  
 against the defacers of his race, for the credit  
 of mount Palatine, against the yniust magi-  
 strates of Rome, for the glorie of Romulus  
 who shineth in the heauenis like a giant-starre  
 against the seditious repugnats, I will shoo-  
 the sting of my wrath, and they shall well per-  
 ceiue that Cæsar esteemes no better of his  
 enemies, then if a sort of hares should be har-  
 nessed, which would trust rather to their feete  
 then to their force: auaunt frō me pitie thou  
 feminine passion, for I will deriu my name  
 of a martiall act, and wil be called à cædendo  
 Cæsar, possesse therfore my heart thou dread-  
 full Nemesis, ransacke my vaines, rage within  
 me wrath, assist me fiends, furies, and ye de-  
 formed ghosts, subiect to the seuere edict of  
 the baser destinie, make your seats and circles  
 in the wast of Italie, and neuer forsake that  
 place, till the fierie brightnesse of Cæsars su-  
 premacie do deterre you from thence.

Cæsar in this rage of mind, carried away  
 with the whirlwind of his turbulent spirit,  
 left Rauenna and passed ouer Rubicon: the  
 Senate hearing of his rebellion, decreed that

Pompey

Pompey should be Generall, & that he shold  
 haue monie out of the common treasurie: There was present choise made of souldiers  
 throughout all Italie, warres were proclai-  
 med, and taxes were imposed vpon the con-  
 fines, suburbs and confederate cities. Cæsar  
 hauing passed Rubicon seized vpon diuerte  
 townes of Italie, Pisaurum, Fanum, Ancona,  
 Tignium and Auximon, and he ran ouer all  
 the Picene prouince, with his armie which  
 was forsaken of Lentulus Spinther the gouer-  
 nor there, and from thence he went to Cor-  
 finium, which was held of L. Domitius Ahe-  
 nobarbus, which he enjoyed hauing Domiti-  
 us also in his power, a most constant friend to  
 Pompey, whose standard was at no time ad-  
 uaunced, but it was worshipped and follow-  
 ed by Domitius: whome Cæsar did in this  
 maner greet: Domitius I do frankly pardon  
 thee & all those which belōg to thy charge, &  
 with these words I make a perfect disclaime  
 of anger and emnitie, I giue thee also free  
 choise and election, whether thou wilt be a  
 captaine in Cæsars campe, or still adhere to  
 Pompey. Domitius not demurring vpon

Pompey is  
 appointed  
 by the Senat  
 General a-  
 gainst Cæsar

Cæsar par-  
 doneth Do-  
 mitius.

Dominum  
sicut et  
Pompey.

Cæsar's offer, did incontinent fly to Pompey, who was then at Brundusium; and there were many at that time which did obserue the like faithfullnesse to Pompey, to whom Cæsar did more plentifullly offer the benefite of life, tho' they did thankfully receive it. Cæsar hasted to Brundusium to assault the Consuls in that place, but failing of his purpose he addressed toward Rome: there was then in the citie great feare and amazednesse, the people calling to memorie the crueltie of Marius, the matrons with their rented haire did display their fearefulnessse, the young damsels with salt teares did blemish their faces, their shrieking voices & deepe drawne sighs, did moue the heauens to a sympathie. The silly babes flying as it were from the face of Cæsar, did cleaue to the breasts of their parents, the sturdiest necks did then begin to stoope, and the strongest hearts to melt, and nothing could be scene in Rome but signes of sorrow: for as the earth when she is disrobed of her budding and fructifying trees, and of her amiable verdure, which is her onely grace and garment roiall, is like a naked table wherein nothing

is

is painted, so was Rome at that instant being bereaued of her young and lustie gentlemen, euen as if the springtide should be taken from the yeare: and a great deformitie did then also arise by the absence of the graue and auncient fathers, who with their spreading shadow did shield and protec<sup>t</sup> the bodie of the citie; and did nourish the rising plants of the generous brasill, gathering strength and soliditie vnder the curtaine of their boughs. Cæsar hauing entred Rome, vsed all sorts of men with great kindeste and curtesie, and hauing conuocated an assemblie declaring and agrauating vnto them the iniuries of his enemies, he transferred all the blame vpon Pompey, and made a notable pretence, that he was desirous of vnitie, and that peace was the virgin of his heart. But Cæsars Diamond was nothing else but glasse, and his words nothing but wind, which at that present was clearely and euidently perceiued, for he went in great hast to the temple of Saturne, where the treasurie of Rome was before his ransack inuiolably kept, and at the gates of the temple L. Metellus Tribune of the people did

S

boldly resist him, and with these words enter-  
taigned him.

Metellus his  
speech to  
Cæsar.

Cæsar the lawes of Rome haue made this  
place sacred, thou shalt not enter into this  
temple but through the sides of Metellus, &  
no coine shalt thou carrie from hence with-  
out bloudshed: vnsheath therefore thy blade,  
and feare not lest thy wrongs be espied: for  
alas we are now in a desolate citie, there be  
so few to condemne thy doings, that there  
be almost none to see them: thy private and  
rebellious souldiers shall not haue their pay  
out of the treasurie of Rome, and if thou wol-  
dest be rich by violence, there be strange wals  
for thee to batter. Cæsar in this sort replied  
vnto him.

Shamelesse churle as thou art, this right-  
hand shall not vouchsafe thee so much honor  
as that thy bloud may shine vpon a souldiers  
steele. Metellus, thou art not worthie of my  
wrath, and where thou hoisest vp the saile of  
lawes and customes, assur thy selfe Tribune  
that the lawes of Rome had rather be cancel-  
led by Cæsar, then confirmed by Metellus. In  
the end by the earnest intreatie of his friends,

who

who were addicted to Cæsar rather for feare  
then contrarie of opinion, Metellus gaue  
place to Cæsar, and he rushing suddenly into  
the temple, caused the treasurie which in ma-  
ny yeares space was leuied by polles, which  
was gained in the Cartthaginian war, and in  
the victories had against Philip Perseus, and  
Pirrhus, together with the tribute of Asia, of  
Crete, and the wealth which Cato brought  
from Cypris, and which Pompey purchased  
by his warres, being caried before him when  
he triumphed, to be laid on asses backes, and  
to be caried as the sinew and supporter of his  
warres. This was thought the fowlest act that  
euer was committed by Cæsar, and it was ne-  
uer feared that Roine shold be poore by Cæ-  
sar. This captaine being as glad for this new  
bootie as some of his friends were sorie, led  
his souldiers toward Spaine, where Afranius

Cæsar mar-  
cheith toward  
Spaine.

and Petreius did rule the affaires vnder Pompey, but he did so massacrate them with famine  
that he posset the greatest part of Spaine,  
without shedding many drops of bloud: then  
he went into that part of Spaine, which is now  
called Andeluzia, where M. Varro captaine

S 2

to a great number of Veteranes, did hold a forcelet, but he being daunted with the presence of Cæsar, resigned all the prouince into his hands: then he marched toward Dirrachio, taking by the way Orichum and Apollonia an Vniuersitie towne, where his Nephew Octavius was taught at that time in the liberall artes and sciences, who is said to haue accompanied his vncle in the warres following, but because it is a tradition of more antiquitie then credit, I do rather note it then affirme it. The fortune that Cæsar had, and the credite which Pompey enjoyed in forraine nations, were two enticing lures, that drew to theirseueral campes a great multitude of forrainers.

The forrainers which were readie in armes for the assistance of Pompey.

To the assistance of Pompey from the coast of Greece which lyeth about the rockes of Cyrrha, and the clouen hill of Parnassus, came a great armie of the Phocenseans, from Thebes and the regions thereabout came the Bæotians, the Pisæans, and the Sicanians: from the townes that lye vnder Mænalus and OEtæ came the Dryopes, the Threspoti, and the Sellians: from Creet and Gortyna a number of good archers did present themselues to

Pompey:

Pompey: from Dardania, from Colchis, and the shore of the Adriaticke sea, the Athamæts, Enchelians and diuerse others: besides these flocked vnto him thousands from Babylon, Damascus, and Phrygia, together with the Ludiæans, Tyrians, Sidonians and Phænicians: there came also from Tarsus, from Cilicia, from India, Persia, Armenia, Arabia, and Æthiopia. For the aide of Cæsar there came many Scythians, Hircanians, and from diuerse regions beyond the hill Taurus: likewise the Lacedæmonians, the Sarmatians, the Lydians, the Essedones, the Arimaspians, the Massagites, the Mores, the Gelonians, the Marmarians, the Memnonians and they that dwell beyond the pillars of Hercules were readie in armour and shewed themselues seruiceable to Cæsars commaund. Cn. Pompeius partly to welcome the straungers that came to Dirrachio, and partly to encourage the Romanes which did follow him, and to make the cause of the vndertaken warre manifest to them all, the Nobles and Senators sitting round about him in harness, vsed this speech vnto them.

The straungers which were assistit to Cæsar.

Pompey his  
oration to  
his soldiers

Let it not any whir dismay you friendly  
foresiners, and faithfull harted Romanes, that  
“ you are now farre from the wals of the taken  
“ citie, and if the Italian ingenuitie, and the  
“ heate of the Romane bloud be as yet warme  
“ within the Romanes, let them not marke v.  
“ pon what earth they stand, so they stand vpon  
“ the ground of a good and lawfull quarrell. It  
“ is I trust evident to you all that we are the Se-  
“ nate; for if we were in the vmost climate of  
“ the world, and directly vnder the freezing  
“ waine of the Northerne Beare, yet in our  
“ hands should be the administration and regi-  
“ ment of the affaires of Italie. VVhen Camil-  
“ lus was at Veios Rome was there also, and  
“ the Romanes forsaking their houses, did ne-  
“ uer chaunge their lawes. Now is Rome Cæ-  
“ sars captiue, and a sort of sorrowfull hearts  
“ hath he there in hold, emptie houses, silent  
“ lawes, and close courts: we are here as the pu-  
“ nishers of Cæsars faults, and the armor which  
“ we now beare, is but onely the wrath of re-  
“ uengefull Rome. Cæsars warfare is as iust as  
“ Catilines, and when he should be like to the  
“ Scipioes, and the Marcelli, he falleth into the  
“ rebellious

rebellious faction of C. Marius, Lepidus, „  
Carbo, Sertorius: and yet in truth I honour „  
him too much to consort him with these. He „  
maketh account of me as of one withered, „  
halfe dead and foredone with yeares: but it „  
is better for you to haue an ancient capitaine, „  
then for Cæsar to leade an armie of spent and „  
outworne Veteranes. And though the age „  
which hope doth follow be farre more plausi- „  
ble and acceptable, then that which death „  
doth pursue, yet wisdome and experience „  
proceede from elder times, & the head whose „  
haires resemble the feathers of the swan is a „  
Senarehouse to a good armie. And if I may „  
not be a souldier, yet I will be the example of „  
a souldier vnto you. The estimation that I „  
haue alwaies had amongst you Romanes, by „  
whose meanes I haue bene extolled to that „  
honour, aboue which neuer any Romane ci- „  
tizen did ascend, may warrant my warfare. „  
VVith vs also are both the Cōsuls, with vs the „  
armies of many forraine kings & potentates. „  
Is Cæsar trou you so venturous, because he „  
warred so lōg against the vnruly French? why „  
it was but a sporting practise, more fit to „

“ traine his scouldiers, then to merite triumph:  
 “ or hath his fortune against the Germanes  
 “ raised his courage, he went not so speedily to  
 “ the Germanes as he departed from them,  
 “ and rather fearing them then feared of them,  
 “ he called the Getmaine sea the whirlepit of  
 “ hell? or doth his blood begin to boile within  
 “ him, because the fame of his furie did suddenly  
 “ driue the Senators out of their houses and  
 “ harbours? VVhen I displayed my blazing ens  
 “ signe vpon the Ponticke sea, the Ocean was  
 “ no more traced with the pirate ships, but they  
 “ did all crowd into a narrow corner of the  
 “ earth. Mithridates that vntamed prince, who  
 “ long expected when victorie should flic from  
 “ Rome, I enforced to take his pauillion, in  
 “ which he died like a fugitiue coward, & ther  
 “ in I was more fortunate then the most fortu  
 “ nate Sylla. There is no part of the world with  
 “ out my trophees, and what land soeuer lyeth  
 “ vnder the sunne, hath either bene vanquished  
 “ or terrified by Pompey: and I haue left no  
 “ warre for Cæsar, but this which now he main  
 “ taineth, in which though he ouercome, yet  
 “ he shall neuer triumph. VVherefore the nea

ref

“ re Cæsar doth approch vnto you, the more  
 “ let your courage rise, or if words cannot pre  
 “ uaile, imagine that you are now vpon the  
 “ banckes of Tiber, and that the Romane ma  
 “ trons standing vpon the wals of the citie, with  
 “ streaming teares, and dispersed hairelockes,  
 “ do exhort you and intreat you to fight; Ima  
 “ gine that out of the gates of the citie the old  
 “ and grayheaded fathers, that are not able to  
 “ weild weapons do prostrate vnto your feete,  
 “ their hoarie heades, requiring succour and  
 “ defence of you: and thinke that Rome her self,  
 “ fearing a tyrant boweth vnto you: thinke that  
 “ the infants which are alreadie borne, & which  
 “ hereafter shall be borne, haue mingled their  
 “ common teares, and that they which as yet  
 “ neuer saw the light, desire to be borne free,  
 “ and they which do now liue desire to dy free:  
 “ and if all this will not serue, then Pompey (if  
 “ he may so debase the maiestie of a Generall)  
 “ with his wife and children will fal before your  
 “ feet. But this is my last behest that I require of  
 “ you, let not Pompey who in his youth hath  
 “ alwaies honored you, be dishonored through  
 “ your default in his dying yeares, for your

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« selues, for your kindred, your freedome and  
« good estate. I protest thus much, that I will  
« never returne to Rome but I will carrie peace  
« in my hand; and the Oliue braunch shall be  
« my ensigne. The Romanes were greatly em-  
boldened hearing these words, seeing their  
Generall so youthfully minded, & as it were  
refined in the mould of Mars. VVherefore  
they expected Cæsar with prepared minds.  
And Cæsar hauing now præfected gouernours  
ouer Orichum and Apollonia, made great  
hast to Dirrachio, in which place at his first  
comming Pompey gaue him the onset, and  
made him to flee hauing lost a great part of  
his armie: and though M. Antonius came not  
long after to Cæsar with a fresh supply, ready  
to face and brest the enemie, yet Pompey did  
so plague the with continual warring against  
them, when he saw conuenient time, that Cæ-  
sars victuals being almost wasted, he was faine  
through penurie of corne to flye into Thessa-  
ly, and Pompey speedily pursuing him in the  
champion plaine of Pharsalia, pitched his  
tents directly against Cæsars. In Pompeis  
campe all things were glorious, magnificent,

and

Pompey put  
Cæsar  
to flight.

M. Antonius  
helpeth Cæ-  
sar.

and glittering in shew: in Cæsars all things  
powerfull, active, and strong. The Romanes  
being thus deuided both parties were greatly  
enflamed with desire of fight: Pompeis sould-  
iers were readie to deprive him of the en-  
signes, and to enter the field without a Gene-  
rall: so deliberatiue was that noble Captaine  
of their welsate, and so desperate were they  
and careless what befell vpon them. In Pom-  
pey there was this desire and thought to o-  
uercome with as little bloudshed as might be.  
But what fiends and damned spirits diddest  
thou inuocate Caius Cæsar, what Stygian fu-  
ries, what infernall hagges, and what nightly  
terrors diddest thou intreat? to what Eumeni-  
des diddest thou sacrifice, intending such a  
generall slaughter? Pompey being earnestly  
vrged by his souldiers thought good to mar-  
shall his men, and to set the armie as might be  
most conuenient for the soile whereon they  
were to combate. The left wing of the armie  
was committed to L. Lentulus, the leading  
of the right wing had L. Domitius, the  
strength and middest of the battell did whol-  
ly relic vpon P. Scipio: vpon the bankes and

Pompey  
marshalleth  
his armie.

sides of the riuers did march the Cappadocians & Ponticke horsemen: in the brode field were Tetrarches, Kings, and Princes, and all the purpled Lords that were tributarie to Rome: Pompeis squadrons were furnished with many Romanes, Italians, and Spaniards. Cæsar seeing his enemiesto haue discended into the plaine, was heartily glad that so good occasion was offred him, and that the day was come which with a million of wishes he called for: wherefore departing out of his tents and marshalling his souldiers he made toward Pompey. In this battell, the fathers face was directly against the sonnes, the brother was preparing himselfe against his brother, the vncle was the first that leuelled at the nephew, and he that did slay most of his kindred was accompted most couragious. VVhen the trupes denounced the warres, and gaue a signe of fight, the Cæsarians did fiercely giue assault to the Pompeians. The force and vigor of the warre did consist in the launces, speares, and swords, which Pompey had well prouided against, by ioyning the targets one with another so that Cæsar had much ado to breake

The Cæsari-  
ans give the  
first assaile.

the

the array: but fearing lest his foremen should faint, he caused the transuers legions to follow his ensigne, who as it were with a side-wind aduenturing vpon Pöpeis armie, stroke them downe on each side so fast as they went. The barded horse being incensed with the heate of the warre, his heart being boared with the point of the speare, exempted himselfe from the reine. The Barbarians being not able to restraine them gaue way to Cæsar, and the foming steede being now the regent of the field, the fight was confused and disordered: for vpon whom the dart did uncertainly light, leauing their horses perforce they lay groning and groueling on the earth, till the hoofes of the arrearing couriers did crush the veile of their braines. Cæsar was now come to the heart and center of Pompeis armie, but the night drew on which made both sides pause: Cæsar did thanke his souldiers, and gliding through euery troope and band of them, he did put nourishing oile into their burning wrath. He tooke view of their swords, curiously obseruing whose weapon was overflowed with bloud, and whose

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was dipped at the point, whose hand did tremble and whose was stedfast, who changed the countenance through feare, & who through furie, and casting his eyes on the prostrate carcasses, frowning vpon them with curled forehead, as not yet satisfied he fed his irefull lookes with the desolate aspect of his staine countriemen, but if he perceiued a gaspe in the flesh of his owne souldiers, he would endeour to close it vp with his hand, & giuing them words of comfort and encouragement did sooner heale them then indeede they were healed. At the dawning of the day next ensuing, and at the first entrance of that mornings bloudie houres, when the welkin had put aside the vizard of the night, the starres being couered and the earth discouered by the Sunne, Cæsar giuing his souldiers new swords, new darts, speares and launces, and awaking their courage, giuing them also to vnderstand with the point of his launce, in what part of the aduerte armie the forreine kings, the Consuls, the Senators, and the nobilitie were placed, directed them as it were by aim, to gage the bodies of many excellēt men,

men, who entangling their weapons in the intrals of these noble enemies, did throw to the ground & to extreme ruine many princely potentates: many reverent persons were buried in goare: many of the Lepidi, of the Metelli, of the Coruini and Torquati: but amongst the rest the fortune of Domitius was dolorous and despitefull, he as before hath bene said, was once pardoned and dismissed of Cæsar, but now was singled out by Cæsar and gricuously wounded, but yet so great was his mind that he would not stoope to begge a second pardon, whome Cæsar looking vpon like a tyrant, and seeing him rowle his fainting members in the moistned dust, did with this bitternesse insult, giuing him the scornefull gaze: L. Domitius now I hope at length you wil forake your maister Pompey, hereafter I trust you will practise no enmitie against Cæsar. But as good fortune would, he had as yet breath enough to replie in these few words, Cæsar I dy a free man, and I go to the region of Proserpina, not seeing thee as a conquerour, but as yet inferiour to Pompey, and euē at my death am I refreshed with this

Cæsar his  
speech to  
Domitius.

hope, that thou liuest to be subdued by the rigor of destinie, which wil take reuenge both for vs, and for thy sonne in law. Hauing spoken these words his life fled from him, and his sight was taken away with a dreadful darknesse, by whose wounds so much bloud was not lost, as there was glorie gained. For he gaue a cleare token of an honorable mind, accompting it a great deale better to haue dignitie without life, then life without dignitie. But Cæsar thinking nothing to be done if any thing were vndone, ragingly and earnestly did seeke for the person of Pompey, & rushing into the thicke of his souldiers, neuer stretched out his arme without deaths warrant, and neuer looked backe but when he saw none to fight withall. Pompey standing a farre off on the top of an hill, seeing the fields to swimme with bloud, and the Romane Senate to be nothing now but an heape of carlasses, and that his owne decay was sought for by the bloud of a multitude, reseruing himselfe to some better fortune, forsooke the field and fled to Larissa. Cæsar perceiving it, thought it better to giue some rest to his ar-

Pompey  
flieth to La-  
rissa.

mic,

mie, then with a sudden pursuite to make after him: wherefore he retired his souldiers, & came to Pompeys tents. When the wandering night was chased frō the inferiour Islands by the recourſing day, and the Sunne had im- parted his brightnesse to our vnder-neigh- bors, and the dreames were readie to posseſſe the Theater of the fancie, the wearisome crea- tures of the world declining to their rest: the Cæſarians hauing ransacked Pompeis tents, and refreshed their fainting bodies with the viand there left, betooke themſelues to their ease, and reposed their wearied limmes in these plots which the Pompeians did before lodge in. But how ſhall I deſcribe the deformitie of that night, in which hell did breath out the ghosts of them that were ſlaine, the aire was infected with contagious vapours, and the ſtarres trembled at the beholding of the vncouth Stygians? ſleepe did bring no quietnesſe vnto them, but flames, murmurs, horrors, and the hideous ſounds of the ſkri- king Harpies. The ghost of the slaughtered Romane did appearre vnto them, and every mans fancie was a fiend vnto him: ſome did

The dreams  
and viſions  
of the Cæſa-  
rians.

V

Pompey tra-  
velleth to  
Egypt.

thinkē that they beheld the image of a young man, some of an old man, others did dreame that their brethren were come to take reuenge on them; but in Cæsars mind were all these terrors: the slaine Senate did seeme to encō-  
passe him on all sides, brandishing their fierie  
swords, sweating, frysing and dropping with  
rosen and sulphur, and the greatest torment  
of all was a guiltie conscience. He was now  
molested with the powers of hell, when his  
enemies that suruiued slept quietly in Laris-  
sa, Pompey after his mishap in Pharsalic made  
speedie voyaige toward Egipt where Ptolome  
did raigne: for Pompey hauing procured the  
restitutiō of his father to the throne of Egipt,  
and with many other singuler benefites ha-  
uing deserued his fauour, thought that the  
young Prince in a kinid regard wold haue en-  
tertained him according to his honour and  
desert: but who doth busie his memorie in re-  
counting benefites? and who will thinke him-  
selfe beholden to one that is distressed? and  
when doth not fortune chaunge friendship?  
Ptolome, vnthankfull Ptolome, disleagued  
with the sensleſſe litargie of soule ingratitude;

when

when by certaine report he heard that Pompey had approched to the shore, sent out his dire and dreadfull messengers to deprive the aged bodie of the vnuanquished mind. And when Achilles that bold burcherer did with his glaive portend the last end of his daies, Pompey whose excellent qualities might en-  
cline a massagite to mercie, craued with con-  
stant countenance but a word or two of them,  
and as for life he was content to leaue it: the  
sauagchelhound would scarcely condescend  
to this request, but at length his tygers heart  
yeelded, and Pompey in few words wishing  
to the Romanes libertie, to his wife comfort,  
to his sonnes safetie, was beheaded by these  
mercilesse Egyptians; and his head was born  
as a present to Ptolome, which was farre too  
good a present for so lewde a prince. But how  
false was this world to Pompey, who had not  
now earth enough for his sepulture, to whom  
before the earth was too little for his cōquest:  
but rare is that bird whose feathers do not  
moult, and happy is that man whose glorie  
doth not eclipse. Cæsar made haſt after Pompey with an hore and earnest purſuite, not

Pompey is  
beheaded by  
the Egyptians

Cæsar enter-  
tained of  
Cleopatra.

knowing that he was preuented of the prize which he aimed at, and as the beasts which nature hath placed in the wildernes, when poore pilgrimes walke by their solitarie and vncouth dens, runne all together with one rage, hunting their footsteps, euery one thinkeing to purchase the pray, the Lion, the Leopard, the Beare, the Beuer, the Tiger, the Lu-zerne and the VVolfe, making the woods to ring with hollow outeries. So the Cæsarians did enquire and make after Pompey, amaz-  
ing the seas with sounding trumpets, drums, fifes, and shawmes, and neuer ceassed their pursuite till they were arriued in Egypt, where they were roially entertained of Cleopatra the Egyptian princesse, who with complaints and mournfull melodie, did allure Cæsar, ad-  
miring her singulat beautie, to tame and sup-  
presse the pride of Ptolome, who had then deforced her from her soueraigne estate. Cæ-  
sar did not deny this faire Oratresse, hauing alreadie perswaded him, if her young had bin silent. Mars spent a long time with Venus; and before his departure from thence Cleopatra was another Calphurnia vnto him. But why

do

do I name Calphurnia? For what proportion can there be betwixt a chaste matron and a shamelesse courtizan. Cæsar labouiring to re-  
store Cleopatra to her former dignitie was suddenly assaulted by the king of Egypt with an huge armie, and in that warre he was dri-  
uen to many extremities, the conduit pipes were cut a funder, and he was besieged on e-  
very side being as yet in Cleopatraes pallace, but in the end wrastling out of these misfor-  
tunes, he gaue battell to the Egyptians at Pharoes, and conueyng himselfe into a gal-  
lie for the defence and safegard of his fleete which was grievously tost, he was so vexed and shaken by his enemies, that he was faine to leaue his gally, and swimming a great way in the riuier of Nilus, returned with great dif-  
ficulty to his armie, but at the last encoun-  
tring the Egyptians at Alexatidria, he put the king and his whole armie to the sword: and in these warres was burnt the notable librarie of Ptolomeus Philadelphus, but much against Cæsars mind, who as he was specially learned so he made speciall accompt of that monu-  
ment of learning. Cæsar hauing raised Cleo-

Cæsar is af-  
faulted by  
the king of  
Egypt.

Cæsar swim-  
meth in the  
riuer of Nilus

patra to her pristinate roialtie, departed from Egypt and hastened toward Utica, but in the way being enformed that Pharnaces the son of Mithridates, whome Pompey when he had finished the warre against Mithridates, had made king of Bosphorus, had substracted from the Romanes, and atchieued to him self Capadocia, Colchis, Armenia, and part of Pontus: Cæsar sent against him Domitius Calenus, whose armie was discomfited by Pharnaces.

Cæsar ad-  
dresseth a-  
gainst Phar-  
naces.

Cæsar put-  
teth Pharna-  
ces to flight.

Cæsar did then in person make expedition against him, and assaulting him at Zela, caused him at the first ioyning of battell to flye, and hauing entred Bosphorus, he was slaine of Asander the author of his inuasions.

VVhilest Cæsar was marching toward Utica, M. Cato disdaining to receiue life at the hâds of Cæsar, and greatly perplexed in mind that a man so rebelliously bent should haue so prosperous fortune, did with violent hands determine his daies. Cæsar hauing taken Utica as he was returning to Rome, did encounter P. Scipio on the seas, who seeking by all warlike meanes to preserue the slender sparkle of his dying life, was at length slaine.

M. Cato kill-  
eth himselfe.

Cæsar en-  
countereth P.  
Scipio.

And

and Cæsar sayling from thence, enshoared in Sardinia, and making no long tarriance in that place, came the five and twentieth day of that moneth, which beareth his name at this day to the citie of Rome, where he was welcome with such applause, such gratulation, with such melodie, with so rare banquets, and with so gorgious shewes, that Pompeis death was not bewailed with halfe so many teares, as he was entertained with ioyes, and for the sealing of their good affection towards him, they did grant to him by a fourefold triumph to enlarge his fame. A triumph was a most excellent honour, which the captaine who by battell had ouercome his enémies, returning with his armie into the citie did at the first enjoy by the decree of the Senate, and afterward by the consent of the people. It was called a triumph, because the souldiers did crye along the streeete as they went to the Capitolle, lo triumph. Surely the Romanes did greatly aduanage themselues by the vsing of these triumphes, for by them men were animated to warlike exploits. But many thinke a common-weale then onely to flourish, whô

What thing  
a triumph  
was amongst  
the Romans  
& how per-  
formed.

it hath peace and plentie, but being moued with the present face of things, and not foreseeing the sequell, they slip into error, and foster in their minds fond opinions, for plentie breedeth securtie, securtie warre, warre desolation. The state of a countrey is then to be accounted prosperous, when it is throughly furnished with men able and sufficient to repulse forreine forces, with the prouention of the earth, and other treasures of husbandrie. But how canst thou assure thy selfe of free and peaceable injoying of the riches of thy countrey, the space of one moneth without militarie discipline? For all regions except those which are situate vnder the extremitie of the climates, are churironed with the circumference of other nations, from which warre may arise as easily, as the winde bloweth from the fourte quarters of the world, in which dangerous accident the first and last refuge of humane helpe is the soldiers arme. Doubtlesse the Romanes were exquisite in all heroicall desert; but in their bountie and beneficence to souldiers incomparably excellent: for they knew, that the prouinces and llands adiacent could

could not be wonne by home-sitting, or by a treatise of words: but they must gird their armour, confront their enemies, and exchange bloud for bloud, and when these countreyes were conquered, & they had tasted the sweete of the vintage, which the souldiers had gathered, they did not reward them with sower grap'es, neither powred they vineger into their wounds, but assigned vnto them pensionarie lands, for their maintenance, and making the franke allowance of ample rewards, encouraged them with crownes of glorie, triumphs, honors and dignities, so that victorie flourished there where armes were fauoured. Surely Princes & potentates ought with tender indulgence to respect the infatigable paines of the souldier, lest he murmur and say when he goeth to the fight, I shall either be ouercome, or slaine: and so be wholly subiect to the will and disposall of mine enemie, or else be partaker of the victorie, and returne into my country, as into a pitched field, where I shall fight with penurie, contempt and vngratefullnesse, the last of which being either in the enemies chaines, or in the number of

his dead men, I shoule never haue felt. But if the souldiers industrie be not quickened and stirred vp by bountie and reward, he hath no more will to perorme any part of martial service, then a dead coarfe hath power to arise out of the graue. For what can be more precious to a man then his bloud, being the fountaine and nurse of his vitall spirits, and the ground of his bodily substance, which no free and ingenuous nature will loose or hazard for nothing. And in truth there is great ods in the cuent, for the souldier may either be slaine and so die without receiuing of his salarye, or else be wounded and die vnder the cure, and so receiue his stipend to the halfe part. This account being thus cast, it falleth out that the souldier loseth all or some part, & the Prince who is his pay-maister, saueth either all or some part. And whosoeuer shall argument or discourse ypon sound reason, and infallible experience, may easilly proue and conuince, that these commō weales haue most prospered, which haue liberally maintained and had in singular regard militarie artes. The mentioning of Cæsars triumph hath occasioned

me

me to vse this digression. This word Triumphus is deriuued of the Greeke name of Bacchus *τριψις*, who hauing subdued India, was the first inuenter of this honor. Of triumphis there were two sorts obserued of the Romans, one the graund triumph, which by præheminence was called Triumphus, the other was the pettie triumph, and was commonly called Ouation, of these triumphs some were done on land, some on sea, some in the citie, some on mount Albane. It was therefore called Ouation, because the victoriate souldiers returning from the fight did showte, and double the letter O. An Ouation did much differ frō a triumph, because he which came into the citie by way of Ouation, was neither caried in chariot, nor cladde with robe triumphall, nor with any ornament of estate, neither did his armie march before him when he was entred the citie, neither was he crowned with laurel, nor brought in with sound of trumpets, but walked through the citie on foot, his head being adorned with a mirtle crowne, his souldiers following him, and the shawmes onely sounding. How the great triumph was cele-

brated, may be perceived by this of Cæsars which was thus performed.

Cæsar his  
triumphs  
described.

Cæsars first  
triumph.

Cæsars sec-  
ond tri-  
umph.

Cæsars third  
triumph.

Caius Cæsar sitting in a rich and sumptuous chariot, bordred round about with the crownes of Princes, his vpper garment being of purpled tissue, and bespang with lines of gold, his victorious armie marching before him garnished with the spoiles of Europa and Africk, his captiues being boyd with chaines, which were tied to his chariots taile, did represent a wonderfull maiestie to the gazing people: the trumpets and the clarions did sound on each side. His first triumph displayed with a most radiant standerd, the spoiles and conquests which he had in Fraunce: the images of Rhodanus and Rhene were wrought in siluer, the stremes were curiously decippered, and the waues did seeme to rise with a naturall and reall flowing. In the second triumph stood the citie of Alexandria, and after it the armes of vanquished Ptolome were blazed, the riuier of Nilus was painted with a faire cælestiall blew: the azured waues being compacted of costly glasse. In the third triumph was a maske of Ponticke mourners, &

the

the coarfe of Pharnaces was then caried in triumph: vpō the top of the coffin stood a triple plume, on the one part of which was written VENI, on the other VIDI, on the third VICTOR. In the fourth triumph Afrrike went as captiue, and the person of Iuba king of Mauritania, his armes pictured as hauing manacles of them was then also resembled. For his victorie at Pharsalia there was no triumph, because Pompey was a Romane. VVhen Rome with smiling countenance had beheld these shewes, Cæsar accompanied with the Romane nobilitie entred the Capitolle, and there with spiced fires and fragrant odours did sacrifice to Jupiter. After his thankes, yowes, and prayers perfourmed, he returned with the great applause and admiration of men, and amiddest other solemnities, Crispus Salustius did greer him with this Oration.

Salutes  
oration to  
Cæsar.

I know that it is a difficult and hard matter to giue counsell to a king, or Emperour, or to any man that is highly aduaunced, because "they haue store of counsellers, & there is none" so wise and warie, who can giue certaine ad- "uise of that which is to come. Againe, bad "

“ counselles are mani times better liked then  
 “ good, because fortune dallieh in things, and  
 “ fancy in men according to their pleasure. But  
 “ I had a great minde in my youth, to handle  
 “ matters of state, and in knowing of them I be-  
 “ stowed great labour and trauell, not to this  
 “ end onely, that I might obtaine some place of  
 “ dignitic in the common-weal, which manie  
 “ by euill artes and vnlawfull meane haue co-  
 “ passed, but that I might also fully know the  
 “ estate of the common-weale, as well in peace  
 “ as in warre, and how much by munition, by  
 “ men, and by monie it could do. Therefore  
 “ tossing many things in my mind this was my  
 “ resolution, to præferre thy dignitic Cæsar be-  
 “ fore mine owne fame, and modestie, and to  
 “ put any thing in practise so I might procure  
 “ glorie to thee. And this I did not rashly or to  
 “ flatter thee, but because in thee amongst the  
 “ rest, I find one skill very maruellous, that thy  
 “ mind hath bene greater in aduersitie, then in  
 “ prosperitie. But with others it is a matter of  
 “ more accompt and reckening, that men be  
 “ sooner wearie with praising thy valor, then  
 “ thy selfart wearied with doing things worthie

of

of praise. Surely I hold it for a rule, that no-  
 “ thing can be fet from the depth of inuention,  
 “ which is not readie to thy thought. And if  
 “ this purpose should onely raigne in thy brest,  
 “ to deliuer thy selfe from the furie of enemies,  
 “ and how thou maiest retaine the fauour and  
 “ good liking of the people, thou should do a  
 “ thing vñworthie of thy vertue. But if that  
 “ mind be as yet resident in thee, which from  
 “ the beginning disturbed the faction of sediti-  
 “ ous men, which brought the Romanes from  
 “ the heauie yoake of seruitude vnto libertie,  
 “ which without weapons did confound the ar-  
 “ mies of thine enemies, whereof haue ensued  
 “ so many and so glorious actes both at home,  
 “ and abrode, that thy foes cannot complaine  
 “ of any thing but of thine excellencie, then re-  
 “ ceive from me such things, as of the summe  
 “ or state of the common-weale I shall deliuer,  
 “ which doubtlesse thou shalt either find to be  
 “ true, or else certainly not farre from the truth.  
 “ There is no man brought vp in a free estate,  
 “ who doth willingly yeeld superioritie to ano-  
 “ ther, and though the mightier man be by na-  
 “ ture of a good and mild disposition, yet be-  
 “

“cause when he will he may be wicked and in-  
 “jurious, he is therefore feared; which hapneth  
 “because many great men are peruerely min-  
 “ded, and thinke themselues so much the safer,  
 “by how much more they do permit other mē  
 “ouer whom they rule, to be wicked & vniust.  
 “But surely a contrarie course should be taken,  
 “when the Prince is good himselfe, to labour  
 “and indeuour likewise to make the people  
 “good. For every bad fellow doth most vnwil-  
 “lingly beare a gouernour, but this to thee  
 “Cæsar is of greater difficultie, then to others  
 “who haue ruled before thee: thy warre hath  
 “bene more mild then the peace of other mē;  
 “besides they which did ouercome, do de-  
 “maund the spoile, they which are ouercome  
 “are their fellow citizens. Through these diffi-  
 “culties must thou passe. And strengthen the  
 “common weale for succeeding posteritie, not  
 “by weapons, nor as against enemies, but  
 “which is farre greater and more difficult, by  
 “peaceable meanes. Therefore to this point  
 “the state of things doth call euery man either  
 “of greater or of meane wisedome, to vtter as  
 “much good as he can concerning this matter.

For

For mine owne part this I thinke, that as by  
 “thee the victorie shall be qualified and orde-  
 “red, so shall all things follow. Thou diddest  
 “wage battell noble Cæsar with an excellent  
 “man, of great power, and desirous of glorie, a  
 “man of greater fortunc then wisedome, fol-  
 “lowed by some few, enemis both to thee &  
 “to themselues, such as either affinitie did draw  
 “vnto him, or some other bond of dutie: for  
 “none of them was partaker of his dominatio,  
 “which he could not tollerate. For if he could  
 “haue brooked an equall, the world had not  
 “bene set on fire with warre: but because thou  
 “art desirous to establish peace, and vpon this  
 “anuill thou and thy friends do continually  
 “beate, consider I pray thee of what nature the  
 “thing is whereof you consult. Certainly I haue  
 “this conceit, that because all things which  
 “haue beginning must haue end, when the fatc  
 “and determined lot of destruction shall fall  
 “vpon this citie, that our citizens will contend  
 “and make warre against their fellow citizens,  
 “and so being wearied and consumed will be-  
 “come a pray to some forraigne king or nati-  
 “on: otherwise, not the whole world, nor all

Pompey  
could not  
brooke an  
equall.

Y

“the people vnder the arch of the heauens be-  
 “ing mustred or assembled together, shall be  
 “able to shake or crush this flourishing com-  
 “mon-weale. Therefore the good effects of  
 “concord are to be maintained, and the euils  
 “of discord to be banished and driuen away:  
 “that may easily come to passe, if thou abridge  
 “the licence of riotous spending, and iniurious  
 “extorting, because young gentlemen in these  
 “times are inured to such a fashion, that they  
 “thinke it a glorious matter vainly to mispend  
 “their owne goods and the goods of other me,  
 “denying nothing to their owne lust, nor to  
 “the shamelesse request of their leud compa-  
 “nions: and their restlesse mind hauing entred  
 “into a crooked way, and dissolute course, whē  
 “their maintenance faileth them, and wonted  
 “supplies are wanting, do conceiue a burning  
 “indignation against their fellow citizens, and  
 “turne all things out of course. In that commō-  
 “weale all things are well ordered, where offi-  
 “ces and dignities are not sold, and where am-  
 “bition enjoyeth not the rewards of vertue:  
 “this and all other euils shall cease when mony  
 “shall cease to be honoured; where riches are  
 “precious,

“precious, there all good things are vile: faith, „  
 “honestie, modeſtie, chasitie, because there is „  
 “but one way to vertue, and that is hard and „  
 “rough, but to mony there be many smooth „  
 “waies: it is gained as well by euill as by good „  
 “meanes. Couetousnesse is a sauage and de- „  
 “uouring beast, immane, & intollerable: which „  
 “way so euer it wendeth, it wasteth, & destroy- „  
 “eth townes, fields, temples and houses: it min- „  
 “gleth holy and humane things together: nei- „  
 “ther armes nor wals can stop the course of it. „  
 “It spoileth and bereaueth men of fame, chil- „  
 “dren, countrie and parents: but if thou debase „  
 “the high accompt of monie, the force of co- „  
 “uetousnesse by good manners will be abated. „  
 “I haue by reading found, that all kingdomes, „  
 “cities, and nations haue so long enjoyed a „  
 “prosperous estate, whilst true advise did pre- „  
 “uaile in them: but whensoeuer fauour, feare, „  
 “or pleasure was the sterne or motiue of their „  
 “counsels, then their wealth was first diminish- „  
 “ed, next their dominion abridged, and lastly, „  
 “their libertie impeached. VVherefore I be- „  
 “seech and exhort thee renowned Cæſar, that „  
 “thou wouldest not suffer such a goodly domi- „

cion as this to be tainted with rust, or by dis-  
 cord rented in pecces. If that thing happen,  
 neither night nor day will appease the storms  
 of thy mind, but by dreames being rowzed  
 from thy bed, thou shalt be chased and pur-  
 sued with continuall cares. I haue dispatched  
 in few such things as I accompted honorable  
 for thee Cæsar, and necessarie for this com-  
 mon-weale. The most part of men to iudge  
 of others, haue sufficient conceit, at least in  
 their owne conceit, and to reprooue an other  
 mans deeds or words, every mans mind doth  
 burne with desire. They thinke their throat  
 is not wide enough, nor their young glib e-  
 nough to poure out of their breasts their ma-  
 licious exceptions, to whose censure that I am  
 subiect, doth so little lhamme me, that it would  
 haue grieued me to haue bene silent: for,  
 whether it shall please thee to follow this  
 course or some better, I shall not be moued:  
 sith I haue spoken as much as my barrennesse  
 could bring foorth. It remaineth for me and  
 for vs all to wish, that such things as thou shalt  
 in wisedome effect, the gods would prosper.

Cæsar afterward to match his foure triumphs,  
 was

was made the fourth time Consul: his statue  
 also was placed amongst the statues of the <sup>The great</sup> auncient kings: in the Senat house there was <sup>honors be-  
 stowed vpon</sup> Cæsar. a throne of iuorie made for him: in the thea-  
 ter his roome was such, as it contained plea-  
 sure, pompe, and cost: his image was exqui-  
 sitly painted in the Orchester, a place where  
 in the Romaine gentlemen did use to daunce  
 and vaut: the moneth of Iuly was then also  
 cōsecrated to Iulius, as the moneth of March  
 is to Mars. Cæsar did not rest in these honors,  
 but thought still to propagate his fame by  
 warlike exploits. VVherefore hearing that  
 Pōpeis sons did raise great tumults & vprores  
 in Spaine, he made great hast thitherward, &  
 at the towne of Siuill opposed himselfe to Cn.  
 Pompeius one of the sonnes of Pompey the  
 Great, who was constrained to flye, but La-  
 bienus met him at vnawares, and hauing

slaine him, brought his head to Cæsar.

Sex. Pompeius his brother esca-  
 ped by flight.

Cæsar fight-  
 eth with  
 Cn. Pōpeius  
 the younger  
 at the citie  
 of Siuill.



## ATROPOS,

### *Or the third Booke.*

The Romans  
bestow many  
honors vpon  
Cæsar.

**H**e warre in Spaine being quickly dispatched, Cæsar returned to Rome: and the Romanes did redouble his honours, for he was presently made Dictator perpetuall, Censor perpetuall, Consull for ten yeares, and Emperour of Rome: he was called also the father of his countrie. But Cæsars fortunes did soone after begin to decline, and these diuerse colourred titles were but as reinebowes, which do glitter gallantly for a time, but are suddenly extinct: his fatall houre was now approaching, and enuie stayed in the cloudes expecting his end. But as a mighty and huge oake, being clad with the exuials and trophes of enemies, fenced with an armie of boughs, garnished with a coate of barke as hard as steele, despiseth the force and power of the windes,

as

as being onely able to dallie with the leaues, and not to weaken the roote; but the Northerne wind that strong champion of the airie region, secretly lurking in the vault of some hollow cloud, doth first murmur at this aspiring oake, and then doth strike his crest with some greater strength, and lastly with the deepest breath of his lungs doth blow vp the roote. So vndoubtedly was it with Cæsar, who disdained feare, and thought it a great deale better to die then to thinke on misfortune: but destinie is no mans drudge, and death is euery mans conqueror, matching the scepter with the spade, and the crowned king with the praislesse peasant. As none was more noble then Cæsar, so nothing was more notable, then the death of Cæsar: for his dearest friends became his greatest enemies, and their hands plucked him downe, whose shoulders did lift him vp. Many causes were pretended of the conspiracie bent against him, the honours which were bestowed vpon him, being both manie and great, did cause him to be enuied of the Nobles: and likewise it was a matter of cauill, because sitting before temple of Venus

The causes  
of the con-  
spiracie bent  
against Ca-  
esar.

genitrix the Senate comming to him to consult with him of great affaires, he did sit and welcome them, and did not rise vnto them: another occasion of quarell was, because M. Antonius would haue set a Diademe vpon his head: the fourth cause was, because he deprived Epidius, Metellus, and Cesetius Flavius of the Tribuneship: fistly it was greatly murmured, because it was constantly reported, that L. Cotta Quindecimuir that is a cōtempplatue reader of Sybillaes prophecies, would pronounce sentence, that because it was contained in the prophecies of Sybilla, that the Parthians could not be ouercome but by a king, therefore Cæsar should be highted the king of Rome. For these causes a conspiracie being raised against him, in which the chiefe agents of the Pompeians, were M. Brutus and C. Cassius, and of the Cæsarians D. Brutus and C. Trebonius, in the Ides of March, and in the Senate-house, which was called Pompeyes court, he was pierced with three and twentie wounds, which because they were many, and most of them were in the belly, and about the midrife, Cæsar as ashamed of such wounds, did

Cæsar is  
slaine in the  
Senate-house

did let downe his robe from his shoulders to couer them, and fell as a sacrifice vnder the statue of Cn. Pompeius Magnus. M. Antonius and other friends of Cæsar, were spared by the aduise of M. Brutus, lest they might seeme rather to be authors of a faction, then of Cæsars death. After this bloudie exploit, they by whō he was slaine, held the Capitolle. I cannot giue Brutus praise for this, but I rather thinke that he deserueth dispraise: for had the cause of quailing him bene iust, yet the course & manner of killing him, doth apparantly seeme un-lawfull: for by that act the law Portia was broken, by which it was prouided, that it should not be lawfull for anie to put to death anie citizen of Rome in dicta causa. The law Corneilia de maiestate was also violated, by which it was made high treason, for any man to take anie aduise, or make anie conspiracie, whereby a Romane Magistrate, or he which had a soueraigne power, without iudicall proces might suffer death. And that ancient law was also despised, by which it was forbidden, that no Senator should enter into the Senate-house armed with any warlike weapō, or having about

M. Antonius  
is spared at  
the time whē  
Cæsar is  
slaine.

The law Portia  
broken by  
the killing of  
Cæsar.

The law Corneilia  
broken by  
the killing  
of Cæsar.

him anie edged toole. Surely they that will end tumult with tumult, can neuer be feized of good successse or fortunate cuet: for discord may breed, continue & augment contention, but it can neuer end it: and to expect that all differences should be calmly compounded by generall accord, is a thing not much to be hoped for, because it seldome happeneth. M. Brutus, the chiefe actor in Cæsars tragedie, was in counsele deepe, in wit profound, in plot politicke, and one that hated the principallity whereof he deuested Cæsar. But did Brutus looke for peace by bloudshed? did he thinke to auoyd tyrannie by tumult? was there no way to wound Cæsar, but by stabbing his own conscience? & no way to make Cæsar odious, but by incurring the same obloquie? Will anie man speake vnto me of the wisedome of Brutus, when he thinketh vpō the field of Philippi, wherein Brutus was like to the Comet, who feeding vpon vapours & vaine opinions, at length consumed and confounded himself? and thus were the two Brutis, I meane the first and the last, famous men of that honourable name, both fatall to the estate of the Romane

Common-

Common-weale: for the former of them did expell the last king of the Romanes, and the later did murder their first Emperour. But if Cæsars death had bene attended, till naturall dissolution, or iust proceeding had caused it, his nephews entrie into the monarchie might well haue bene barred and intercepted: because these honors were annexed and appropriated to Cæsars person. And if patience might haue managed their wisdomes, though there had bene a Cæsar, yet should there neuer haue bene an Augustus. But by bloudshed to seeke for peace, is by oyle to quench fire. VVhen any innouation or alteration is to be hatched, the state of things must be quiet and secure, that the wheele may be easily turned about, without hearing any noise. For to commit the murder of a soueraigne Magistrate, & to defend thy selfe by armes, is as if a man should couer himselfe by water from a showre of raine, or should descend into some hollow of the earth for auoiding of infectious aire: & if the most barbarous and immaine tyrant, should trecherously, that is without warrant of iustice be slaughtered, though at his death he

were vtterly destitute of friends, yet his enemies should be sure to finde enemies: for no common weale can be without men of aspiring humours, and when such a murder is wrought they find present occasiō to tumultuate, knowing that Anarchie breedeth confusion, & that it is best fishing in a troubled streame: making a glorious pretence to reuenge the death of a Prince, though in heart & in truth, they beare greater affectiō to the monarchie remaining, then to the Monarke who is taken away: neither in regard of supreme power and præeminence, will I put diversitie betwene the person of a king and a tyrant; for he which attaineth to an imperiall or regall soueraigntie, by warlike industrie and victorious exploir, is no lesse a Monarke, then he which cometh to it by election, succession or descent: & he that is made subiect by sword, is as much subiect as he that by birth is a denison. But was Iulius Cæsara tyrant? Surely there was more tyranie in the slaughter then in the man slaine: Cæsar I graunt was a traitour to the State before the victorie, but after he exchanged that base name, with the best title of dignitie, and of a traitour

traitour became an Emperour: yet did he not aggrauate to himselfe that type of horor, the people offred it vnto him, he accepted it with thankes: manie had offended him, he pardoned them, yea rewarded them with great boūtie. He was content to haue a fellow Consull, he suspected none of them which were the workmen of his death, he did neither deppresse the Noble man by flaūder, nor aduance them of obscure condition by flatterie and bribes: & which is incōpatible to tyrannie, he shewed self-will in nothing, when he was inuested with supremacie; but questionlesse the Romanes should not haue nourished this lyon in their Citie, or being nourished, they should not haue disgraced him. The goated body of Cæsar was honourably transported to Campus Martius. Afterward M.Cicero because he was desirous to restore peace, and to reconcile the states, procured a decree to be made after the example of the Athenians, which they called their Amnestia, that the killing of Cæsar shold be forgotten & forgiuen, and this was ratified by Senate. But the conspirors would not in anie wise lay aside their armour, vnlesse they

Cæsar his bo-  
die is trans-  
ported to  
Cāpus Mar-  
tius.

might haue certaine assurance and securitie that their persons, lands, and goods should be safe and vtouched. VVherefore for pledges they had the sonnes of M. Antonius, & M. Lepidus, and then they descended out of the Capitolle. C. Octavius hearing of the great change that had happened in Rome, came as some say from Epirus, as others from Apollonia, to whom I rather agree: but he was welcome to all sides and sectes. And by the testament of his vncle, who had adopted him to be his heire, he tooke the name of Iulius Cæsar. M. Lepidus was at that time made Pontifex maximus in Cæsars place. The Senate did asigne the prouince of Syria to Dolabella, and Macedonia to Antonius: but afterward when M. Antonius did thew himself too imperious, and would haue resigned his charge in Macedonia, and haue bene Præsident of France, he suffered a repulse of the Senate, wherupon he appealed to the people, which did greatly incense the Senate against him, and Octavius was also grieuously displeased with him, because crauing his assistāce against the enemies of his vncle, he was in grosse & odious termes abused

The Senate  
incensed a-  
gainst M. An-  
tonius.

Octavius be-  
commeth an  
enemie to  
Antonius.

abused of Antonius: Octavius therefore by the assent of the Senate, being accompanied with his vncles veteranes, prepared warre against him. D. Brutus to whom the prouince of France was committed by Cæsar, and after his death confirmed to him by the Senate, that he might resist Antonius, who was then making toward Fraunce, came with an armie to Mutina, and there suffered himselfe to be besieged. The Senat did afterward send messengers to Antonius, to treate with him of peace, which were L. Piso, L. Philippus, and Seruius Sulpitius. But when they returned without concluding any thing, warre was proclaimed, and Hirtius being Consul went against him, Octavius as Proprætor, Pansa the other Consul followed them within a few dayes after. Cæsar and Hirtius hauing brought Bononia into their power, did pitch their tents neare to Antonius, who leauing a sufficient armie to beate them from the wals of the towne wherein his forces were, did priuily and closely go from thence to meeete with Pansa, as he was coming to Bononia, with whom he entred battell, and had a prosperous victorie, but as he was return-

D. Brutus suf-  
fereth him  
self to be be-  
sieged by An-  
tonius.

M. Antonius  
fighted with  
Pansa.

Hirtius fight  
with  
Antonius.

The two Co-  
suls & Octa-  
vius fight a-  
gainst Anto-  
nius.

ning to his tents, Hirtius opposed himselfe in the way, and curtailed his victorie, doing vnto him as great a damage as he did to Pansa: for which cause both the Consuls and Cæsar, were called as well of the Senate as of the soldiers Emperors, although Pansa had but bad successse, and Cæsar did not fight at a'l. But

shortly after there was a great battell fought betwixt these three and Antonius, in which battell Antonius being constrained both to leaue his tents and armie, fled into France to Lepidus Proconsul. Hirtius after the victorie being sore wounded, died sodainly in his enemies tents. Pansa not long after died of a wound also at Bononia. Brutus and Mutina being deliuered from siege, only Cæsar escaped safe, and enjoyed a most glorious victorie. The father of Cæsar was C. Octavius a prætorian, and Atia was the daughter of M. Atius Balbus, and Iulia the sister of Iulius Cæsar, and being adopted of C. Cæsar, and made his onely heire, he was called C. Iulius Cæsar Octavianus. After these warres he became an enemie to the Senate, because they had affoarded a triumph vnto D. Brutus, and had

Octavius be-  
cometh an  
enemie to  
Antonius.

made

made him Generall in the warre against Antonius, who stood onely vpon the walles and doing nothing, did onely behold the fight, passing by Octavius vnguarded, who had deliuered the Common-weale from danger; alleaging that it was but a sconce and colour to bestow vpō him Consul robes & to make him Prætor ten yeares before his time, which was to bestow the kernell vpon others & the shell vpon him. And to trie them further he sent to the Senate, to request them, that he might be made Consul in the place of one of them which were slaine: & because he could not obtaine it by petition, he determined to purchase it by warre. Therefore reconciling himselfe to M. Antonius and M. Lepidus, he led a great armie against the Citie, and sent messengers to the Senate in the name of his Captaines & souldiers to demand the Consulship of them: who when they had moued the matter to the Senate, and the Senate was in a great doubt what to do, Cornelius a Ceturion that was the principall messenger, laying his hand vpō the hilt of his sword, in great boldnesse said vnto the, this shall do it, if you

Octavius his  
request to  
the Senate.

Octavius re-  
cœlēth him  
self to M. An-  
tonius and  
M. Lepidus.

A a

will not do it. The Pompeians were in truth wedded to too much partialitie, for why had Brutus the glorie of triumph, vnlesse it were because his life was saued by other mens valour? And why were the bodies of Pansa and Hirtius solemnly and honorably enterred, and Cæsar who was liuing, & partaker of the victorie nothing regarded? Nay they did apparanly despise him. For , sending messengers they enioined them to parle with his soldiers and leaue Octavius vnspoken to : but they did with great choler answer, that they would not heare anie thing vnlesse their Generall were present. This peruerse and preposterous dealing made Octavius to enter the City in warlike maner, and as an enemy vnto them, and there he made himselfe Consul, & Q.Pedius his colleague. M.Cicero did then in publike assemblies greatly commend and extoll Octavius, but he spake one thing and meant another : for if dangers had bene once past, Ciceroes tongue would haue turned another way. VVise and circumspect he was to preuent a mischiefe, but timerous & fearefull to withstand it when it was befallen. After-  
ward

M.Cicero  
dorh greatly  
commend  
Octavius.

ward affinitie was contracted betwixt Antonius and Cæsar, for Cæsar tooke to wife Clodia the step-daughter of Antonius. He was Consul before he was of the age of twentie yeares, and in that Consulship held nothing in so curios charge, as to take reuenge vpon the enemies of his adoptiue father: wherfore he requested Q. Pedius his colleague to enquire of them by whose conspiracie he was slaine, and thereupon M.Brutus, C.Cassius & D.Brutus being absent were condemned. D. Brutus to whom the Senate had committed the dealing with Antonius, being forsaken of his armie fled to Aquileia & was there slaine. But the estate of the Common-weale at that time shall appeare by an Epistle of M.Brutus written to C. Cassius, which I haue here set downe: whereby a man may learne how to moderate and demeane him self in common calamities, whē justice is turned out of course and the lawes are silent. It was to this effect. M.Brutus to C. Cassius sendeth commendations; according to couenant & promise my , , Cassius, I write vnto thee such news as I haue , , receiued from Rome. Octavius as I haue, ,

“ hath married himselfe to the daughter of Ful-  
 “ lia the wife of Antonius, for which mariage,  
 “ I am neither verie glad, nor greatly sorie:ma-  
 “ nie vse such mariages as pledges ofreconcil-  
 “ iation, and thinke them of sufficient force to  
 “ change hatred into loue, but are greatly de-  
 “ ceived. For it is one thing to make alliance,  
 “ and another to make amity, sith they proceed  
 “ from seuerall causes, and hauing a different  
 “ course, must needes produce diuerse effects,  
 “ for alliaice groweth, by bringing one kindred  
 “ to the marches of another; but friendship ei-  
 “ ther by long conuersing together, or by a  
 “ grounded opinion of good desert, or by like-  
 “ nesse of qualities where there is no inequality  
 “ of estate: and he that seeketh friendship out  
 “ of these præcincts, will neuer find it. Therfore  
 “ by such mariage emnitie will not fully cease,  
 “ nor friendship firmly be setteled: for it is  
 “ rather a meane betwixt these two extremes,  
 “ then either a mother to the one, or a step-  
 “ dame to the other. I receiued letters lately  
 “ from M. Antonius, directed to vs ( whereof I  
 “ haue sent you here inclosed a copie) verie  
 “ contumelious, minatorie, and not worthie to  
 be

Antonius  
writeth to  
contumelious  
letters to  
Brutus &  
Cassius.

be sent from him, to vs: but his threatnings I  
 “ do not much regard. For amongst free men  
 “ the authoritie of him that threateneth, is no  
 “ more, then the law wil permit: for mine owne  
 “ part I could wish that he were great in the  
 “ Common-weale, so he were honest. I will not  
 “ prouoke him to emnitie, but will alway præ-  
 “ ferre the libertie of my countrey, before his  
 “ friendship: he obiecteth to vs often the death  
 “ of Cæsar, but he should consider how small  
 “ a time Cæsar raigned, not how little while he  
 “ liued. And Octavius forsooth digesting at  
 “ length, the hollow conditions of his father in  
 “ law, seemeth greatly to stomake that we bost  
 “ so much of the Ides of March, when notwith-  
 “ standing only one man was slaine: yet not so  
 “ much as he vanteth of the Nones of Decem-  
 “ ber, at which time he slaughtered more then  
 “ one. Cicero once thought that the Commō-  
 “ wcale as a naked orphane should be prote-  
 “ cted by armes, but now he præferreth an vn-  
 “ iust peace before a iust warre: wherein he  
 “ sheweth how vniust he is: he is fortunes page,  
 “ and fauoureth them most who haue most fa-  
 “ uourers. A wise man, though by oportunitie

“ he do alter his pace, yet still keepeth his way,  
 “ serueth time for aduantage not for feare, and  
 “ as the sunne setteth to rise againe, so he chan-  
 “ geth his course to continue his purpose : but  
 “ to an vnconstant man euerie accident is a cō-  
 “ stellation, by which he is diuersified and dri-  
 “ uen from the center of his thoughts. Though  
 “ Octauius call Cicero father, yse him kindly,  
 “ praisch him, thanke him, yet it wil appeare that  
 “ his words are contrarie to his meaning : for  
 “ what is more auerse from common sence, thē  
 “ to call him father whom he will not suffer to  
 “ be free? By these lineamēts I haue shadowed  
 “ vnto thee my Cassius the ficklenesse and lu-  
 “ bricitie of Ciceroes variable mind, which as  
 “ it is not certaine to himselfe, so it is not safe to  
 “ vs: let him liue as he doth adulatoriously and  
 “ abiectly : to me which am opposed to the  
 “ thing it selfe, that is, to a kingly regiment, ex-  
 “ traordinarie rule, domination and superiori-  
 “ tie which would extol it self aboue the lawes,  
 “ no subiection can be such as that I may brook  
 “ it. There can be no yaliāt nor free mind with-  
 “ out constancie, neither can any thing be glo-  
 “ rious without the iudgement of reaon. In the  
 businesse

businesse of the common-weale I would haue „  
 nothing done, without the constitution and „  
 decree of the Senate and people, neither will „  
 I arrogantly preijudicate, or boldly retractate „  
 that which they shall hereafter do, or hereto- „  
 fore haue done, but I accompt it more conso- „  
 nant to the good estate of the cōmon-weale, „  
 rather with pitie to mollifie the miserable e- „  
 state of distressed persons, then by graunting „  
 euerie thing to the desire of the mightie, to „  
 inflame their lust and insolencie. Surely the „  
 Senatours are many times deceipted in their „  
 hope, and if a man haue done one thing wel, „  
 they presently yeeld and permit all things „  
 vnto him, as though a minde corrupted by „  
 their largesse, and liberall offers, might not „  
 be traduced and caried away to euill purpo- „  
 ses and attempts : but they may not bestow „  
 any thing which to men euill disposed may „  
 be either a præsident or a protection, and I „  
 am afraid that Octauius by his late Consul- „  
 ship, do thinke him selfe to haue ascended „  
 higher, then that he will descend: for if An- „  
 tonius by the death of Iulius Cesar tooke pre- „  
 sent occasion of tyrannising, how much more „

“ will Octavius usurpe, when both Senate and  
 “ people do applaud to his affection. Neither  
 “ will I commend the facilitie and prouidence  
 “ of the Senate in this behalfe, before I haue ful  
 “ experience, that Octavius will content him-  
 “ selfe, with the ordinarie honors that he hath  
 “ receiued: but if it otherwise happen, I must  
 “ needes pronounce the Senate guiltie of the  
 “ fault, which they might well haue præuented.  
 “ Yet if this yong man do lay aside sinister and  
 “ affectious humours, and imbarke himselfe in-  
 “ to the cōmon cause with impartiall thoughts,  
 “ I shall then thinke that the Common-weale  
 “ will be able to support it selfe, by her owne  
 “ strength and sinewes, that is iustice and inte-  
 “ gritie; and that thenceforth, no offence, shall  
 “ either be cruelly reuenged, or dissolutely re-  
 “ mitted. Of our future affaires this is my de-  
 “ terminate resolution, so it may obtaine thy  
 “ approbation; if things happen to be in better  
 “ plight we will returne to Rome, if the estate  
 “ be as now it is, we will liue as now we do, in  
 “ voluntarie exile: if it decline frō bad to worse,  
 “ we must flic to armes as our last and worst re-  
 “ fuge, wherfore Cassius do not faint, nor  
 disaire,

disaire, let the hope of good things encou-  
 “ rage thee, vertue onely is confident. From „  
 “ Smyrna 17. Kalend. April, „

Cæsar when by no meane he could be re-  
 uenged of Brutus, who was President of Ma-  
 cedonia, and Cassius who had the regiment  
 of Syria, he sent for M. Antonius and M. Lepi-  
 dus who were then in France, and they three  
 meeting at Bononia, had conference of orde-  
 ring and disposing the common affaires, and  
 there they agreed to be Treuiri, for the con-  
 stitution of the common-weale for fife years  
 space. To the charge of Lepidus Spaine and  
 Gallia Narbonensis were allotted, to M. An-  
 tonius the other parts of Fraunce, to Cæsar  
 Libia, Sicilia, and Sardinia. After these con-  
 sultations they came to Rome, and assignd  
 offices to whom it pleased them, asking no  
 leauue either of people or Senate. At that time  
 many excellent Lords and Gentleman were  
 proscribed, together with an hundred and  
 thirtie Senators, among whom was L. Paulus  
 the brother of M. Lepidus, L. Cæsar the vncle  
 of Antonius, and he who did so much praise  
 Octavius M. Cicero. But that was done by

Cicero is put  
to death.

the venomous rancor of Antonius, by whose meanes he was beheaded, and the head was serued in mease vnto him, which when Fulvia  
Fulvias de-  
spiteful dea-  
ling with Ci-  
cero's tong. the impudent wife of Antonius had espied, plucking and renting from the chaps his golden tongue, she distained it with the spittle & some of her mouth, she pricked it with needles, launced it with her nailes, brayed it with her fist, racked it with her armes, and stamped it with her feete. Foolish and senslesse anger, to inflict reuenge vpon a thing that was senslesse, and for the misliking of the man, to hate the dead part of his body. But thou didst nothing Antonius (for the indignation of posterite will rise against thee) thou didst nothing by taking away the publike voice of the City and that all-pleasing tongue. Thou hast dispoiled Cicero of a poore remnant of dayes, thou hast pared away his old age, thou hast caused him to be slaine, when he wished for death, but his fame and the glorie of his vertues and excellent learning, thou art so farre from abridging, that thou hast augmented it: he liueth and shall liue by the memorie of all ages, and whilst the frame of this world shall stand,

stand; and this bodie of nature shal continue, which that onely Romane did in minde contemplate, by wit vnderstand, & by eloquence describe, the commendation of Cicero shal alway accompanie it, the succeding wits shall wonder at his writings, & euery mans doome shall condemne thy cruelty. But the miserie of these times none can sufficiently deplore, so vnpossible it is to expresse it by words. But this is to be noted, that the care of wiues toward their husbands, that were proscribed, was maruellous, & in the highest degree: the fidelitie of their free-men but indifferent, the loyaltie of their bond-men very slender, the loue of their children none at all, so grisly and loathsome is aduersity to a mans owne bowels. Cassius hearing of the great tumults of Rome, went from Syria to Smyrna in Asia, where M. Brutus was, to take aduise of the ordering of the battel against M. Antonius, & C. Octauius, who they heard did make expedition against them. VVherefore Cassius having ouercome the Rhodians, and Ariobazanes, and Brutus hauing subdued the Patareans, the Lycians, and other nations of Asia,

which did before molest them, they hasted to Macedonia that they might there wage battell. And thither not long after came Cæsar, and M. Antonius with a huge host, and before the citie of Philippi they faced their enemies with the tents. That fight was verie fierce and very doubtful, for Brutus put Cæsar to flight, and Antonius Cassius, and each of their tents was ransacked of the victor. C. Cassius when Brutus, who he feared was slaine, returned a farre off, with his horsemen, thinking that they were the enemies that pursued him, did worke his owne death by the hand of one of his retinue. Within a few dayes after M. Brutus being ouercome in another battell, and ouerborne with despaire, enforced Strabo that fled with him to slay him with his sword: which act, many noble Romanes to the number offorie did imitate. There were neuer anie to whom fortune did sooner approch, then to Brutus and Cassius: and neuer anie from whom she did more suddenly flie: Cassius was the better Captaine, Brutus the better Counsellor, Brutus was more to be loued, Cassius to be feared, because the one excelled

led in vertue, the other in valor. VVho if they had conquered in this fight, it would haue bene more expedient for the Romanes to haue bene ruled by Brutus then Cassius, by how much it was more safe to them in the end to be gouerned by Octauius then Antonius. The yeare following there grew discord betwene Cæsar and L. Antonius Consul, and Fuluia wife to M. Antonius. They were offended with Cæsar, because he shared that part of Macedonia to his souldiers which M. Antonius should haue had. Fuluia was the more earnest against Octauius, because he had cōceiued a deep displeasure against her daughter, and had thereupon diuorced her. Cæsar was likewise incensed against Antonius, because he would not send to him that supply of souldiers, which he ought to haue. Antonius therefore in his brothers quarell, maintained warre, Fuluia leagued vnto him held Prænestine, and there she behaued her selfe as the other Consul, cōtemning P. Seruilius who was indeed Consul, being like to a wōman in nothing but onely in sexe: L. Antonius with an hostile inuasion entred the citie of Rome, the

Cæsar beset  
geth PerusiaThe praise  
of Asinius  
Pollio.

armie of M. Lepidus, who was left there as warden of the Citie being discomfited, and afterward departing thence toward Fraunce, was intetcepted by Cæsar, who besieged him a long time at Perusia, in the countrey of Hetruria, and oftentimes making an eruption & suffering a repulse, he was constrained to submit him selte, whom Cæsar pardoned, but many of the Senators and Romane Knights were sacrificed vpon the altar of Iulius Cæsar. He destroyed Perusia, and hauing brought into his power all the armie of the contrarie side ended that warre, Cn. Domitius Calvinius, and C. Asinius Pollio being Consuls, Pollio was a man of notable gifts, who howsoeuer matters befell, was loued of all sortes of men. Iulius Cæsar did make great reckening and accompt of him, after his death the enemies of Cæsar did greatly fauour him, M. Antonius had him in singular estimation, Octavius held him neare vnto his heart, an excellent scholer, and a worthie souldier the onely obiect of the learned, whom both in prose & poetries, they haue condignely commended, so that I need not to proceede in his praises, this

this is my only doubt, whether he were more to be extolled for his laudable qualities, then admired for his rare and wonderfull fortune, he was not long before with Antonius in Ægypt, but seeing him so vainely besotted with the loue of Cleopatra, seeing him knight of the Cannapee, who was earst Lord of the field, being ashamed of him as he was a Romane, ashamed of him as a General, ashamed of him as now an vnworthie companion for Pollio, he left him in Ægypt with his concubine, and came to Rome. Afterward Cæsar and Lepidus fell at variance, so that Lepidus was compelled to surrender all his authority, and to stand to Cæsars mercie for his life. Cæsar did then fight with Sex. Pompeius on the sea. Pompey being there ouercome fled to Sicilie, and afterward into Asia, and as he was preparing warre against Antoni, he was take of M. Titius, Antonius his Lieutenant, by whō he was slaine. The last ciuill warre which was betwixt the Romaines was that which was fought by Cæsar against Antoni at Actium. The occasion of emnitie betwixt them was thus, Antonius did reproue Cæsar because

Octavius  
Cæsar high-  
teth wj. h  
Sex. Pōpeius

he had taken to himself the armie of Lepidus & that which followed Sex. Pompeius, which ought to haue bene common to them three. Cæsar did obiect to Antonius, that he did keepe Ægypt without lawfull commission, that he caused Sex. Pompeius to be slaine without his consent, that he cast Artauasdes a Prince, leagued with the Romans, and taken by trecherie, into prison, & dishonored him, with gyues and fetters, to the great infamie of the Romanes, that he was more familiar with Cleopatra then became an honest man, that he had bestowed too great giftes vpon her, that he had called Cæsars surmised bastard begotten of Cleopatra, Cæsario, to the great disgrace of that house. These things priuately by letters and publikely by messengers, were mentioned by mutuall obiecton.

Octavius rea-  
deth the te-  
stament of  
M. Antonius.

Cæsar afterward did reade Antonius his testament in the open Senate, which came to his hands by this meane. Certaine souldiers which did flie frō Antonius to him, told him that the authentike will or testament of M. Antonius, did remaine in the custodie of the Virgins vestall, of whom Cæsar did obtaine it,

it, the tenor and forme whereof was thus.

I M. Antonius one of the three states of Rome, and the sonne of M. Antonius, do by this my last will and testament make and ordaine Philadelphus & Alexander my sonnes by Cleopatra, the heires of all my wealth and substance, which I had by descent from M. Antonius my father; but with this clause, and vpon this condition, that if I die in Rome or elsewhere, they shall solemnly conuey my bodie to Alexandria in Ægypt, and bestow it there in a marble sepulcher, which by this my will shall be made for my selfe and Cleopatra the Queene of Ægypt. But if they faile of this or do otherwise, without lawfull or vrgent cause, then I will that all these things which I leaue vnto my aforesaid sons, be conuerted to the vse & behoofe of the Nuns of Vesta, & my ghost shal implore the assistaice of the Pontifex-Maximus, & the priests of Iupiter which are in the Capitol, to solicit the spirits of vengeance to punish the vnthankfulness of my sons, & then I ordaine & wil, that the Pontifex Maximus shall cause my bodie to be repos'd in a conuenient sepulcher, within the walles

of this citie, and I will also that as many bond-slaues as be now in my power, shall presently after my death be manumitted & made free by the Prætor; and to euerie of my other seruants I bequeath a Sestertian, & a mourning garment. Lastly, I do pronounce by this my last will and testament, that Cæsarion the son of Cleopatra, is the true, certaine, and vndoubted sonne of C. Iulius Cæsar. And to the aforesaid Cleopatra, I giue all my wealth and treasure, that I haue gained, purchased and atchieued either in warre or in peace. Done by me M. Antonius vj. kal. Iul. Ap. Claudius, C. Norbanus Coss.

VVhen the people of Rome had heard the purport of this testament, they thought that Antonius his drift, was to giue Rome to Cleopatra, for a speciall fauour, for which cause they were maruellously moued against Antonius. Cæsar did behaue him selfe in this matter very wisely and warily, for in wordes he prætended warre against Cleopatra only, and caused it to be proclaimed by the herald, that the Ægyptian Queene did intend the suppressing of the Romanes. That was done by

by Cæsar, to the end that he might auoyd the batred of manie noble men, who did rather affect Antonius then him. But whē Antonius for the loue of Cleopatra wold neither come into the citie to render account of his doings, nor depose his Triumuiracie, but was wholly busied in præparing warre against Italie, Cæsar did furnish himselfe as well for sea as for land: he therefore gathered manie souldiers out of Spaine, Fraunce, Lybia, Sardinia and Sicilia. Antonius likewise did make an armie of Asians, Thracians, Macedonians, Græciās, Ægyptians and Cyrenians. And in the yeare following C. Cæsar and M. Messalla being Consuls, Antonius and Cleopatra at Actium a promontorie of Epirus, encountred Cæsar, who hauing prosperous successe in many battels against them, as well on sea as on land, they being at length ouercome fled to Alexandria in Ægypt. Cæsar did sacrifice all the pinasses which he had taken in warre, to Apollo, who was worshipped at Actium, as a monument of thankfulness for his victorie, and did also institute a fwe yeres solemnitie, which was called the solemnitie of Actium,

Ottavius Cæ  
sar sacrificeth  
all the Pinna-  
ses to Apollo.

besides this he built a faire temple to Apollo, and in the place where his tents were pitched he founded a great city called Nicopolis, the citie of victorie. Asinius Pollio did still præserue the auncient amitie that was betwixt him and M. Antonius, for when Cæsar at his departing from Rome, requested him that he would ioyne with him, in his warres against Antonius, he made this answer: The benefites of Antonius towards me, will not permit me to be an enemie vnto him, and my merites at the hands of Antonius be farre otherwise, then that Antonius should be an enemie vnto me, wherefore leauing both and leaning to neither, I wil stay here in Italie, and be the spoile of the conqueror. Cæsar did afterward besiege Antonius & Cleopatra at Alexandria, where Antonius being in a most desperate plignt, being in no possibillitie to recouer Cæsars fauour, and hearing by a false rumor, that Cleopatra was slaine, did suddenly stab himselfe. Cæsar tooke Alexandria, and with it Cleopatra, but because she would not grace Octauius so much as to be led in triumph by him, she put Aspes to her breasts, and was by them

Octauius  
buildeth Ni-  
copolis.

Cleopatra  
killed by As-  
pes.

them done to death, though her keeper had præcise charge to looke carefullly vnto her. Ægypt was then brought by Cæsar into the forme of a prouince, and hauing made Cornelius Gallus Praesident there, he came to Rome, where he had a triple triumph, the one of Dalmatia, which he brought to conformitie after his warre finished against Sex. Pompeius, the other of Actium, the third of Alexandria. VVhen Cæsar with the great applause and gratulation of the Romanes had pacified the whole præcinct of the world, and for that cause had shut the temple of Janus the third time, and an augurie of safetie was celebrated, which two things were neuer done but when the whole Empire was in quietnesse, he purposed to depose the Empirie, & to bring the common-weale to a good & perfect constitution. To depose the Empirie, M. Agrippa did perswade him, but Mæcenas did dissuade him, whose opinion he yeelded vnto. VVherefore endeuoring by law to confirme the Empirie, and to win the fauour and good estimation, as well of the Nobles and Senators, as of the people, he burnt all the letters which

the citizens that were then in Rome or out of Rome had writte to Antonius, lest any Senator who did follow Antonius his faction, should thinke himselfe to be hated of Cæsar for that cause, & so should attempt some mischiefe against him: he releueu the common stocke , which was greatly wasted by ciuill warres, with his owne priuate wealth, & them that were indebted to the common treasurie, the billes of debt being burnt with his owne handes , he did free from the daunger of the rolle. And whereas many things were done, in the tumults and seditions of the citizens, against law and custome by Lepidus and Antonius, he did repeale them by an Edict, and made his sixth Consulship, which he then enjoyed to be the death-day of these lawes ; by which meanes when he had worthily drawne vnto him the hearts of the people, yet in one thing he pleased them aboue the rest, which was done rather of pollicie thē of plaine meaning: for hauing singled out a great number of Senators, whose loue toward him was specially approued, in a very frequent Senate, he did offer to surrender the Empire into the hands

hands of the Senators and people. But some of the Senators , because they suspected that his wordes differed from his meaning, some because they did feare greater daunger by a popular estate, others because they feared his displeasure, if they should agree vnto it, they did with one voice refuse the offer, and ioyned in earnest sute and humble petition vnto him, that he would be the sole gouernour and absolute Emperour of Rome , and for that cause they did decree that the stipēd of those who did guard his person should be doubled, that he might be in more safetie by that meane, both to his friends and to the cōmonweale. VVhen by the franke assent of the Senate and people, he had thus, not confirmed the auncient Empirie , but in deed created a new Monarchie , that he might seeme popular, he was content to charge him selfe with the weightie affaires of the Empire : but the authoritie and dignitie thereof he did cōmunicate with the people : and therefore vnto the Senate and people he did allot Numidia, Asia, Græcia, Epirus, Dalmatia, Macedonia, Sicilia, Creta, Cyrene, Bythinia, Pontus, Sar-

dinia and Hispania Betica : which were the more peaceable and quiet countries. To him selfe he tooke the other parts of Spaine , and all Fraunce , Narbonensis , Lugdunensis , Aquitanica Celtica , likewise Germania , Cœlosyria , Phœnicia , Cyprus and Ægypt. And that he might void out of their minds all suspition of Monarchie , the supreme authoritie that was assigned to him he did only restraine to ten yeres continuance. The Romanes did bestow diuerte honors vpon Cæsar , planting

The Romans  
plant a bay  
tree before  
Octavius his  
doore.

before the doore of his Court a Bay tree , on the top whereof they set a wreath of oaken boughs , signifying that he was the man that had both ouercome their enemies , and set their citie in safetie. They decreed also that his Court should be called a Pallace , so that in what region souer the Romane Emperor did sojourne , his Court was called a Pallace , and that he should be called Augustus. For when many would haue adorned him with some title of excellencie , Cæsar had a great desire to be called Romulus secundus , but because that did resemble too much the title of a king , he was content to be called Augustus ,

stus , that is , maisticall or diuine. Thus had Cæsar the power of a king the stile only fore-prised. In him all the dignities and magistracies did meeete , he was sole Consul , in determining iudicially of publike affaires , sole Potifex , for he had that speciall title , sole Censor in taxing the Romanes by poales , and fining them for faults , sole Tribune , in abrogating these lawes & voiding these acts which were made and done by other magistrates : which though in shew they were manie , yet in deed there was now but one Magistrate in Rome , one Emperour , one Augustus ; but these honors did not warrant Cæsars quietnesse , for he was endangered by many trecheries , and being thereby too feuere in punishing both the worthie and vnworthie , vpon suspition & surmize without anie formall proceeding against them , he did indeed minister oile vnto the flame of their malice. Amongst the rest Cn. Cornelius , whose grandfather was Cn. Pompeius Magnus , did with his complices imagine and conspire the death of Augustus , whom Cæsar would not put to death , because he thought by that meane , he should gaine

no great securitie, neither would he deliuer them from imprisonment, lest others might take courage & counsell to attempt the like. VVith this doubt & perplexitie he was grieuously troubled, and cares did torment his mind both in the night and in the day time; wherefore walking alone in his garden, and musing what to do, Liuia the Empresse came vnto him, and prayed him of all loues to reueale vnto her, what griefe had encroched vpon his heart, and what was the cause of his vnusuall dumpees, to whom Caxsar made this answer. Can any man, Liuia, be of a calme and contented mind, against whom on euery side are layd the snares of treason? Seest thou not how manie doe besiege my quietnesse, whom the punishment of condemned persons doth not only not deterre, but, as if there were some hope of reward, others rush desperately forward to vnlawfull attempts. Liuia when she heard this, did thus reply. It is no maruel, my Lord, if you be beset with dāgers, partly because you are a man, and therefore borne to casualtie, partly an Emperour, by whose authoritie, because manie are put to death,

death, many that liue do conceiue hatred against you; for a Prince can not only not please all, but though he governe in most orderly and peaceable maner, it cannot be otherwise, but he should haue many foes. For there be not so many iust as iniurious, whose humours can never be satisfied, & they which be of the better sort do aime at great matters, which because they can not obtaine, and because they are inferiour to others, are full of malecontentment, and for that cause they are offended with their Prince. But the danger vnto which you are subiect by them which do not cōspire against your person, but against your estate, cannot anie way be auoided. For if you were a priuate man, none would offer you iniurie, vnlesse he receiued wrong before at your hands, but an Empire, and the reuenues thereof, they which haue power do rather affect, then they which are poore do loath. This though it be a point of vncionable men, yet as other faults, so this is the seed of nature, which out of some men neither by rewards nor by threats you shall be able to extirpate: for neither feare nor lawe

“ can do more then nature. VVhich being tho-  
 “ roughly cōsidered, it will seeme a great deale  
 “ more conuenient to strengthen and stablish  
 “ your Empire with faithfulness and loyaltie,  
 “ then with sharpnesse and rigor. Augustus did  
 “ thus reioyne: I know, Liuia, that the highest  
 “ things be most subiect to hatred, & the grea-  
 “ test Emperours haue the greatest enemies:  
 “ for if our cares, grieves and perils were not  
 “ greater then the grieves and perturbations of  
 “ priuate mē, we should be æqual to the Gods;  
 “ but this doth chiefly molest me, that I cannot  
 “ deuise anie remedie, which may cure & con-  
 “ quer this mischiefe. All men haue enemies, &  
 “ many haue bene slaine by enemies, but the e-  
 “ state of Princes lieth so open to casualtie, that  
 “ we are cōstrained to feare our familiar frinds  
 “ and our daily acquaintance, with whom be-  
 “ cause we must continually conuerse, we do  
 “ continually feare, and this maladie is more  
 “ hardly redressed then emnitie: for against our  
 “ enemies we may oppose our friends, but if  
 “ our friends do faile vs, where is the our helpe?  
 “ therfore both solitude and multitude is grie-  
 “ vious vnto vs, & it is dangerous to be without  
 “ agard,

“ a gard, but to haue an vnsaithful gard is much  
 “ more dangerous. Apparant enemies may be  
 “ auoided, but false-hearted friends we cannot  
 “ anie way shunne: for we must call the friends,  
 “ of whose constant faithfulness we can not  
 “ possibly be assured; for my selfe I do plainly  
 “ protest, that my heart abhorreth from the ex-  
 “ tremite of punishment, and the necessarie of  
 “ torture goeth greatly against my mind. Then  
 “ said Liuia, You haue spoken well my Lord,  
 “ but if you will be aduised by me, & you ought  
 “ not to refuse my counsell because it procee-  
 “ deth from a woman; I will aduise you of that  
 “ which none of your friends will impart vnto  
 “ you, not because they are ignorant of it, but  
 “ for that they dread your displeasure. VVhich  
 “ Augustus taking hold of, Tell it me Liuia,  
 “ said he whatsocuer it is. I will, said Liuia, and  
 “ that as willingly as you would heare it, for I  
 “ am made partaker of your destinie. Cæsar  
 “ being safe I am Empresse, and he being dis-  
 “ honored, which misfortune the Gods auert,  
 “ I am also disgraced, and bereaued of glorie.  
 “ That I may not vse an ambush of words, nor  
 “ a labyrinth of circumstances: my theame shal-

“ be one word, and that is, Clemencie. Change  
 “ thy course Augustus, and forgiue some of thy  
 “ foes, manie things may be healed by lenitie,  
 “ which cruytice can neuer cut off. Neither do  
 “ I speake this, as if disloyall and irregular per-  
 “ sons shoulde generally and without difference  
 “ receiue mercie, nay they that be notoriously  
 “ stained, and branded with conspiracie, they  
 “ that trouble the quietnesse of the Common-  
 “ weale, they that are ouerflowed with vices,  
 “ whose life is nothing else but leudnes, so that  
 “ they are past hope or helpe, cut them off my  
 “ Augustus, as the putrified parts of a distem-  
 “ pered bodie: but they which either through  
 “ the infirmitie of youth, or the imprudency of  
 “ mind, or through ignorance or mischaunce  
 “ haue offended, or which against their willes  
 “ haue bene drawne into daunger, admonish  
 “ them, but with minatorie speeches: and let  
 “ them finde grace but with condition. Some  
 “ thou mayest punish with exile, some with in-  
 “ famie, and some with money: and that none  
 “ may be vniustly condemned, nor by a fained  
 “ accusation suffer death, let the truth be tried  
 “ by such proofoes, as may worthilie be appro-  
 “ ued.

ued. For it behoueth thee Augustus, not “  
 “ onely to be free from doing wrong, but euen “  
 “ from shew and semblance of infurie. Priuate “  
 “ men haue done enough if they haue not of- “  
 “ fended, but a Prince must endeuer not to be “  
 “ suspected of faults. Thou rulest ouer men, not “  
 “ ouer beasts, ouer Romanes, and not ouer “  
 “ Barbarians, and the onely meane to lincke “  
 “ their hearts vnto thee, is to benefite all and “  
 “ to oppresse none. For though a man may be “  
 “ constrained to feare, yet he cannot be enfor- “  
 “ ced to loue; for when the subiect clearely di- “  
 “ scerneth that his Prince is bountifull, he is “  
 “ soone perswaded: but when he is once resol- “  
 “ ued vpon manifest præsumption, that some “  
 “ be vniustly put to death, lest the same thing “  
 “ happen vnto him, he may iustly feare: and “  
 “ who he so feareth, he hateth with the strength “  
 “ of his heart. But a Prince is the priuiledge of “  
 “ his subiects security, that they take no harme, “  
 “ neither of sorreiners, nor of their fellow sub- “  
 “ iects, much lesse of their Prince & protector. “  
 “ And it is a great deale more magnificent and “  
 “ glorious to saue then to kill: wherfore lawes, “  
 “ benefites, admonitions must be vsed, that “  
 “

“men may become circumspect, & warie, and  
“further they must be so diligently watched  
“and obserued, that though they would be, yet  
“they may not be traiterous; and they which  
“are greene in conceit, and as it were flexible  
“waxe to the stronger powers, must haue per-  
“petuall conseruatiues lest they be corrupted;  
“and to tollerate the offences of some, is both  
“great wisedome and great manhood: for if e-  
“uerie mans fault should be his fall, the earth  
“would soone lacke inhabitants. Thinke my  
“good Augustus, that the sword cannot do all  
“things for thee: it cannot make men wise, it  
“cannot make them faithful: it may constraine  
“them, but it cannot perswade them: it doth  
“pierce the heart of him that is slaine, but it  
“doth alienate the mind of him that doth liue.  
“Wherfore alter thy opinion noble Em-  
“rour, and by vsing clemencie they will thinke  
“that all that thou hast heretofore done was  
“done by necessitie and against thy will, but if  
“thou perseuerest still in the same minde and  
“purpose, they will impute all that hath bene  
“done to the austeric and sounenesse of thy  
“nature. With these speeches of Liuia Augu-  
stus

thus being moued, pardoned many, and vsed  
as much lenitie as his owne safetie would  
beare: whereby he purchased the entire loue  
of the Romanes, and all his life time after  
there was neuer anie treason attempted a-  
gainst him. Thus after ciuill emtities extin-  
guished, forreine warres fully ended, iustice  
recalled, destiny satisfied, strength was re-  
stored to lawes, authoritie to Magistrates,  
dignitie to the Nobles, maiestie to the Se-  
nate, safetie to the people: the fieldes were  
without hinderance trimmed and tilled, the  
sacrifices celebrated and solemnized, quiet-  
nesse returned to men, and euerie possession  
to his lawfull owner: good lawes were made,  
imperfect lawes were amended, bad lawes  
cancelled: the Senators were seuere without  
currishnesse, the people honest without con-  
straint: and with this harmonic peace  
pleased the Romanes.

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